

NEW SERIES

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THE CLERGY REVIEW

APRIL, 1953

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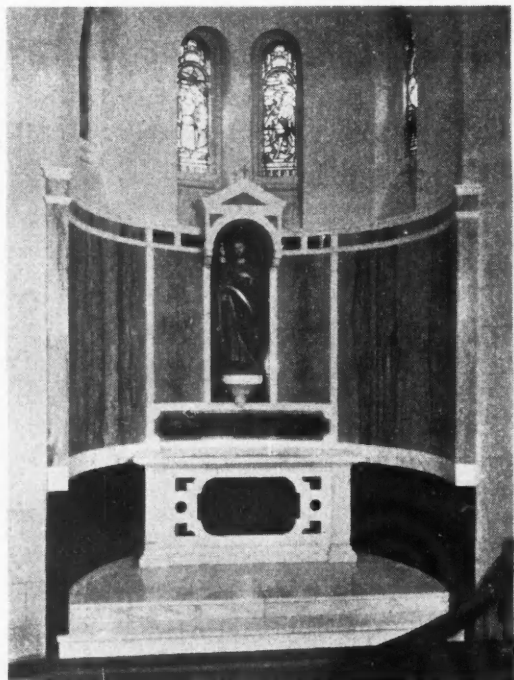
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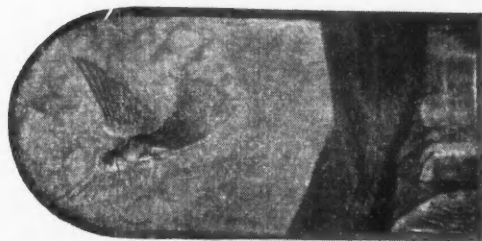
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The CLERGY REVIEW

NEW SERIES VOL. XXXVIII NO. 4 APRIL 1953

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CORONATION LITURGY

DR WICKHAM LEGG'S publication of the texts used in three different English coronation rituals which were intended to show the main stages of evolution in the coronation liturgy, and the use made of them by High Anglicans to justify the claim of a "national church", provided matter for controversy at the beginning of the present century. Fr Thurston, S.J., with customary versatility, immediately took up the claim and in the pages of the *Month* and subsequently in his book on the coronation ceremonial, vigorously dismissed, as without foundation, the Anglican contention that the recurrent theme of the priestly dignity of kingship found in the ancient coronation ritual justified the belief that a "national church" existed in England many centuries before the Reformation. There the matter seems to have rested. Since then, however, research, undertaken for the most part by continental scholars, has been carried out on the early development of constitutional and canon law and has gone far in clarifying both the character of ecclesiastical organization and the relation between the monarchy and the Church at the time when the coronation liturgy took shape. Consequently, it suggests that a wider view, one which will take account of social and economic conditions, is necessary in order to appreciate the exalted character which the Church added to kingship. If, on the one hand, the Anglicans are guilty of unwarrantably wrenching a feature of the mediaeval coronation ceremonial out of its context, on the other hand, Fr Thurston tried to prove too much. It seemed worth while, therefore, as another coronation year comes round and the murmur of a "national church" again finds an echo in the columns of the Press, to take up the subject once more and attempt to place the many features, which originally went to the making of the coronation liturgy and with which we are in part still familiar, in their true setting.

The consecration by anointing of a Christian king, as
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distinguished from the crowning ceremony of the emperors of Rome and Byzantium, first made its appearance in the Teutonic kingdoms of the west. On reflexion it is not strange that this should be so. Tradition, reaching back to the very foundations of the Church, had always directed that the authority of the state was to be obeyed and respected as authority held from God, and the writings of St Augustine and especially of St Gregory had served to intensify this tradition. Yet, in the course of time, if the attitude to secular authority had remained fundamentally unchanged, a certain transformation had inevitably taken place in the relation between Church and ruler. No longer would the missionary Church be content to adopt the passive indifference of an earlier Christianity as to the outcome of rival claimants to the imperial title; the Christian ruler in the Christian state had a definite ethical duty as a representative of divine authority, and on this count the Church put forward claims both to bring the ruler before the bar of Christian morality to test him for his suitability to hold the office and to guide the faithful in their secular allegiance in times of disputed succession to the throne. This claim to sanction the choice of the monarch was based on the undisguised pragmatic criterion of the candidate's suitability and found expression in Pope Zacharias' decree to the Franks (A.D. 751) confirming the advent of the Carolingian house to power: "It is better that he should be king who possesses the power, rather than he who remains a king only in name." In view of the Church's close connexion with and indeed dependence on the ruler in the newly converted Teutonic countries, it was in the Church's interest to have strong and capable kings.

The Church's desire, however, to have a hand in the setting up of a king, based on the claim of suitability, ran counter to the pre-Christian tribal notion of monarchy founded upon kin-right and election. In Germanic law the folk chose their king from among the royal clan—*reges criniti*—whose long flowing hair set them apart as the lineal descendants of the gods, which in itself granted the royal dynasty the inviolable right to rule irrespective of their suitability or capacity. Hence it could come about that a military leader without the pure blood of royalty in his veins, in the course of the changing fortunes of tribal

warfare and domestic political upheaval, might find himself as a ruler *de facto* but insecure in his position because of the allegiance of the folk to the old dynasty. But if there was nothing in tribal law which could set the seal of legitimacy on a new ruling house, the Church, in the interest of law and good government, could put her sanction on a new dynasty and approve it as a divinely appointed instrument of authority. This sanction took the form of an ecclesiastical ceremony in which the ruler was consecrated by anointing and crowned king. Originally, therefore, the consecration of a king worked in the mutual interest of both the Church and state. On the one hand, the Church gave the ruler an almost hieratic status thereby ensuring some measure of good government, and on the other hand, the king gained a lawful title to rule in the eyes of the people in cases of doubtful succession. It was in such circumstances that Pippin, the first Carolingian, dispossessed the Merovingian ruling house and was anointed and crowned king of the Franks, claiming as his title to rule that: *divina nobis providentia in solium regni unxisse manifestum est*. Similarly, in England some thirty years later, the consecration of a ruler first made its appearance when Offa, King of Mercia, had his son anointed and crowned in order to secure the succession for his family. Although these examples were not the first recorded instances in the west of the consecration of kings, nevertheless, it is at this time that the coronation liturgy took the shape with which the people of the Middle Ages and indeed those of a later age were familiar.

The conversion to Christianity of the Germanic peoples had inevitably weakened the fundamental notion of blood-right, and to make good the loss the Church with characteristic genius surrounded Christian kingship with a mystery and *éclat* which it had hitherto not possessed. In its external form, at least, the coronation liturgy was modelled on that for the consecration of a bishop; the anointing which occupied the most important place in the rite was clearly inspired, as the accompanying prayers show, by the pages of the Old Testament. The examples of the anointing of Saul, David, Solomon and the rest are recalled to mind and the same stress is laid upon the consecrated character which the anointing imparts. The Christian king like the Hebrew king was set apart from the rest of men.

Moreover, it was a natural sequel that the anointing of a king under the Christian dispensation as an official function of the Church and, therefore, as a means of conveying grace, should find a place in the Church's sanctifying mission. From the beginning the anointing of a king was spoken of as *sacramentum* and even a reformer like Peter Damian in the eleventh century could enumerate it among his list of twelve sacraments. Although sacramental theology at this early date was vague and indeed remained ill-defined until the twelfth century, yet there is more than a suspicion that royal consecration was considered to be something more than a benediction or a bestowal of the grace of office. It is significant that the title *Dei gratia* adopted in the royal chanceries originated at the same time as the coronation liturgy.

For the churchmen who witnessed the early development of the coronation liturgy the anointing of a king implied a real consecration, sanctified the recipient and imparted some kind of character. But it was easier to state the existence of this character than to define it, and there was some confusion, at least at the theological level, as to the status of the king after his consecration. The use of chrism for the anointing and the use of a similar ceremonial both for the consecration of a king and a bishop seemed to indicate that the king's position in the Church was not so different from that of a bishop. It was in this vein that Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims addressed Charles the Bald at his coronation in 869: "May God in His mercy crown you with the crown of glory, may He pour out upon you the oil of His grace of His Holy Spirit, as He has poured it out upon priests, kings, prophets and martyrs." And Pope Stephen II was probably expressing public feeling when in writing to the sons of Pippin a century earlier he gave special point to the text of St Peter: *Vos gens sancta estis atque regale estis sacerdotium*. It would seem clear that in the eyes of contemporaries the consecration of a king and a bishop were equally two holy acts which set the recipients apart from their fellows and numbered them among the order of clerks. In either case the relations set up between Christ and the priest and Christ and the king were analogous.

Yet, if the architects of the coronation liturgy were reluctant

to consider the anointed king as a mere layman, and had in raising him to a clerical status endowed him with some kind of sacerdotal dignity, they were equally reluctant to, and clearly could not, grant him priestly authority in spiritual matters. In the event, the evolution of the coronation liturgy itself led to a clearer definition of the king's status. If he was not a clerk in the fullest sense with spiritual jurisdiction, he was not on the other hand a mere layman; he came to occupy a unique position midway with the office of mediator between clergy and people. His was the duty, as Hincmar, that remarkable and versatile liturgist, expressed and in part determined it, to share with the bishops the all-pervading authority of Christ's rule. While the priest exercised his office in the interests of souls, so the king's duty was to safeguard the external aspects of spiritual government. The bishop and king—*christi Domini*—were the twin executive of divine authority. Indeed, it is only against the background of the theocratic conception of monarchy as an office and the awareness of the imminence of the kingdom of God that the peculiar sacerdotal dignity conferred upon the king can be understood.

The possession of this quality by the person of the king, as it is reflected in the early coronation liturgy, reached its fullest development in the tenth century. In England, more especially than elsewhere, successive coronation rituals tended more and more to see in the anointing an assimilation to the priestly office. Indeed, the close connexion between the Church and state, the identity of interests expressed by the king and bishops seated in the Witan discussing indiscriminately ecclesiastical and secular affairs with an unconcern which later shocked the Normans, all helped to lend colour to this exalted idea of monarchy. Perhaps no single ecclesiastic or statesman did so much for the institution of the English monarchy as St Dunstan. The record of the Archbishop's career as a reformer and as a statesman, working at all times in closest contact with the king, reached its highest point of achievement in the coronation of King Edgar at Winchester in 973. It would seem that Dunstan and his associates made at least two experimental drafts of the coronation ritual before a final one was reached which embodied the latest developments of the Frankish liturgy, and in addition

contributed something of its own. The Edgar ritual gave definitive form to the English coronation liturgy and in turn exercised an influence on the continent.

The parallel between the anointing of a king and the consecration of a priest occupied a foremost place in the mind of Dunstan and probably in the mind of his royal pupil. Edgar was not crowned until some years after his succession to the throne. No explanation of this delay readily presents itself, unless it be that both Dunstan and Edgar wished to postpone the consecration until such time as the young king should have reached sufficient maturity to undertake the royal office. It is probably something more than a coincidence that the coronation took place during the same year in which the king reached the age of thirty, which was the minimum canonical age for ordination. Be that as it may, the external features in the ceremony which emphasized the sacerdotal dignity of kingship were expressed by the priestly vestments in which the king was vested. It is not easy to see what other symbolism can be attached to the investiture with amice, alb, dalmatic, stole and cope, although in England the king was never officially attached to a church in the way that the Carolingian Emperor was made a canon of St Peter's and the French King, at a later date, a canon of St Denis. But the belief that the king occupied a position of equality with the bishop by virtue of his consecration had ample support in the concrete and external features of the coronation liturgy.

As the king shared with the bishop ecclesiastical authority he was, therefore, a leader in Church and state and this gave him a right to take his place in ecclesiastical synods. In point of fact, this was but a recognition and legitimation of the king's actual position which prevailed throughout the Germanic kingdoms of the west. A large fraction of the legislative acts of Charlemagne and his successor had to do with clerical discipline and matters pertaining to the morals and faith of the clergy, and in the Old English kingdom, both ecclesiastical and secular, legislation was passed by the king with the counsel of his bishops and wise men. Yet, if the king's participation in episcopal authority was sanctioned by the Church, in theory, at least, his consecration subordinated him to the bishops.

The consecration and crowning to which, as Hincmar bluntly stated, the king owed his royal dignity more than to any other source, was the privilege and the right of the bishops of the particular country or region. The actual performance of the ceremony naturally fell to the metropolitan. Nevertheless, the conception of the consecration and crowning of the king as a corporate act of the episcopate was present in the liturgy from the beginning. It reached its fullest expression in the Frankish ceremonial which Hincmar more than any other ecclesiastic had done so much to determine. At the coronation of Charles the Bald, Hincmar, as archbishop, and those of his suffragans present on the occasion, were asked for and each in turn gave their express assent to the consecration. Significantly, the episcopal consent was requested and given only after the king had taken his oath to uphold good government, to maintain and defend the Church and to observe all the laws whether ecclesiastical or civil which concern the person or the status of the bishop. On the fulfilment of these conditions, and more especially on the observance of the latter clause, could the king expect the obedience and respect from the bishops which were his due as king. The anointing and crowning followed on the bishops' approval and indeed were dependent on it. The coronation oath as it developed in the ninth and tenth centuries had travelled far from the simple oath of the earlier Teutonic kingship; it was now a more personal matter of the king and his coronation depended upon his taking the oath. It thus came about that the coronation was fundamentally a contract between the king and bishops. If the king was raised up to occupy a unique position as a leader in the Church and in the state on an equal footing with the bishops, he was both tied by his coronation oath and in theory subordinated to the bishops, for, as Hincmar put it, the episcopal dignity is superior to that of kings; the bishops consecrate the king, but the king cannot consecrate bishops. Finally, it is probable that miniature paintings of the coronation ceremony found in manuscripts of the fourteenth century depicting the archbishop and his two assistants simultaneously placing the crown on the king's head was a relic of an earlier age when the consecration as a corporate act of the episcopate was visibly expressed.

The alliance between the king and episcopate by which the king was endowed with an ecclesiastical status and at the same time bound by oath to the bishops, was the outcome of a wider economic and social situation prevailing in the newly converted northern countries. The Germanic invasions of the west had swept away the conception of *persona moralis* as a legal artifice for securing the immunity of Church property. Instead of the corporate ownership of the city church recognized by canon law in the late empire, there was substituted the territorial church and private ownership of tribal custom. In Germanic law the owner of the soil had dominion, and therefore the numerous churches built over the countryside passed into the hands of the private owner along with the right of presenting the incumbent. This situation, together with the fact that bishops working in a tribal society inevitably looked for support to the ruler or the metropolitan rather than to canon law, made the process of decentralization, and indeed the chaos, of the Merovingian period in the sixth and seventh centuries complete. Everywhere the same forces worked for the dissolution of the Church and state into small regional groups.

At the centre of this system of private ownership of individual churches and their revenues stood the king, who, as possessor of most land and in his capacity as personal protector of the Church in his territory, not unnaturally became the greatest lay-owner of Church property. In the course of three centuries as the inevitable internecine struggle for political leadership in each country gradually made way for unity with an authority tending more and more to be centralized in the monarchy, the king came to occupy the position of sole authority in the external affairs of the Church with an absolute dominion over all Church property together with the right of investing the nominees with their spiritual insignia. In this evolution of monarchy, a symbol both in theory and in fact of national unity, the Church had lent her support and kept pace with every stage of the development. In its origin the consecration of the king had done more than any other single factor to stabilize the position of the monarchy, and thereafter, as all secular authority tended to become centralized in a national monarchy, the coronation liturgy developed also. After the middle of the ninth century

the Carolingian kings, and a century later the English kings, at their consecration were invested by the Church with a sacerdotal dignity and an ecclesiastical rank. But as the centralization of the Church lagged behind that of the state, the coronation was an alliance between the king and the metropolitan and his suffragans. It was thus a national affair. Fundamentally, the coronation liturgy was the expression whereby the Church justified the dominance of the state over the Church brought about by the system of private ownership.

In the complex of social, economic and political forces together with the decentralization of the Church which conditioned the scheme of things in western Europe from the eighth to the eleventh centuries, and in our own day give colour to the idea of "national churches", there was no question of the dominance of the state over the Church being exercised at the theological level. Neither during that period nor during the investiture contest which eventually resulted did the state lay claim to ultimate spiritual jurisdiction; it was essentially a clash between the revival of old canon law demanding complete immunity of Church property from secular control on the one hand, and on the other hand, the theory and practice that the owner of the soil had complete dominion, which had its origins in Germanic custom.

The revival of the papacy under the impact of reforming churchmen about the middle of the eleventh century and the subsequent centralization of ecclesiastical authority broke the alliance between the king and bishops, while the investiture quarrel, challenging as it did the system of lay ownership of Church property, altered the relation between Church and king. Gregory VII impatiently dismissed the idea that the king was anything but a layman. Innocent III pointed out that the difference between the king and bishop . . . *quanta sit differentia inter auctoritatem pontificis et principis potestatem*, was shown by the fact that the king was anointed between the shoulders and on the arm whereas the bishop was anointed with chrism on the head only. Later still, John XXII wrote to Edward II in 1318 explaining that the royal consecration did not impart any sacramental character and therefore could be repeated at will. Nevertheless, if the Church succeeded in placing the spiritual

authority in an unassailable position and thereby defining with precision the status of monarchy in the sphere of law and theory, the success, in practice, was limited.

Although monarchy had by the thirteenth century passed into an established place in constitutional law and was, therefore, independent of the Church, at least, for its future security, it had lost nothing of its sacred character as expressed in the coronation liturgy. Indeed, in the course of time, with the dawning of a national consciousness the monarchy came to hold a place in popular esteem which in an earlier age it had not held in the same way. The popular notion of the divine origin of the oil used in the consecration of French kings enshrined in the legend of the *Sainte-Ampoule* and its counterpart in England which told how St Thomas of Canterbury had received the oil of consecration from the hands of our Lady; the medicinal qualities which kings by virtue of their consecration were believed to possess; the personal sanctity and miracles of a St Edward the Confessor or of a St Louis of France which gave an added lustre to the office of kingship, all combined to surround the person of the monarch with a sacred atmosphere of mystery which lasted on during the high Middle Ages and well beyond. Even in our prosaic age, it might be said that the monarchy has not altogether lost this quality.

DOM CUTHBERT SMITH, O.S.B.

LORD ACTON

LORD ACTON died in 1902 and for years after that date his literary remains were confined to the four posthumous volumes of lectures and essays and the three collections of letters. There were some half-dozen articles in the learned reviews, some tributes by men who had known him, but no

biography. Bishop Mathew's slender volume, *Acton, The Formative Years*, in 1946, has now been followed by the preparation of bibliographies, by studies published in America, by these¹ three valuable books, and by the gratifying promise of further publications. Most important of all is the beginning of the serious study of the Acton MSS. at Cambridge.

There was one side of his vast learning by which he was wont to display and to emphasize his strange inconsistencies—one might almost say, aberrations—his knowledge of Church History. He was a Catholic to whom, as he said in a remarkable letter to *The Times*, the communion of the Church was dearer than life; who told Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff one night, as they walked away from a Club dinner, that he had never felt the temptation to doubt any dogma of the Church; and Oscar Browning, that there was no doctrine of the Church that he had "the slightest difficulty in believing"; who wrote that he rested "unshaken in the belief that nothing which the inmost depths of History shall disclose in time to come can ever bring to Catholics just cause of shame or fear", and that the Church stood firm "on the secure ground of an institution and a guidance that are divine". Yet the man who made these resounding declarations of faith wrote to Gladstone's daughter that "a speculative Ultramontanism, separate from theories of tyranny, mendacity and murder . . . had not yet been brought to light"; to Lady Blennerhassett that the Popes and the Ultramontanes were not only wholesale assassins but had made the principle of assassination a law of the Christian Church and a condition of salvation; that there were many opinions enforced by the authorities of Rome that none could adhere to without peril to the soul; had repeatedly asserted that St Charles Borromeo sent instructions that Protestants should be murdered;² had vehemently denounced Pius V and classed Gregory XIII with Galerius and Calvin. To the end of his days he

¹ *Lord Acton: Essays on Church and State*. Edited and Introduced by Douglas Woodruff. (Hollis & Carter. 30s.) *Acton's Political Philosophy: An Analysis*. By G. E. Fasnacht. With a Foreword by Sir Harold Butler. (Hollis & Carter. 21s.) *Lord Acton: A Study in Conscience and Politics*. By Gertrude Himmelfarb. (Routledge and Kegan Paul. 21s.)

² At Lucca. It was all based on a misunderstanding and a misreading of a letter. See *THE CLERGY REVIEW*, June 1952, p. 353.

harped incessantly on the Inquisition which was, he said, "peculiarly the weapon and the work of the Popes", and as editor of the *Cambridge Modern History* he personally decided to assign the chapter on that subject to the American historian, H. C. Lea, as the one "indicated and predestined writer to contribute the most critical and cardinal chapter of the History". So vehement was Acton's anti-Ultramontanistism that it had terrified Baron Friederich von Hügel. Clearly Acton possessed in a very high degree the German faculty for holding incompatible and even contradictory beliefs and his inner tragedy lay in a life-long and hopeless attempt to harmonize them. Fortunately his difficulties were not accentuated by any harsh decision of ecclesiastical authority. On his appointment as Regius Professor in 1895 he received "affectionate congratulations" from Cardinal Vaughan and he was specially invited to the laying of the foundation stone of Westminster Cathedral. While he was Professor at Cambridge the chaplains were edified by his undoubted piety: he insisted on carrying a pole of the canopy in public processions of the Blessed Sacrament. Hence the eager effort of Abbot Gasquet (*Lord Acton and his Circle*, 1906), intended as rehabilitation, and as a sort of reply to the publication in 1904 of the alarming *Letters to Mary Gladstone* edited by Herbert Paul.

At the time of his death and long afterwards Lord Acton's career was generally regarded as an example of futility and frustration; it was often said, and with some reason, that his splendid gifts had been wasted. Throughout his life he had collected information in vast quantities for his projected "History of Liberty" and he never wrote a page of it. Döllinger had said that if he did not write a great book before he was forty he would never do so. Because he regarded it as "unscientific" to write with anything less than complete mastery of existing knowledge he condemned himself in advance to a task that was endless and hopeless. He could never stop amassing facts and examining theories. He was, in fact, the best of all illustrations of the semi-humorous saying of Edmund Bishop that to write a great book three men were needed: a German, to collect all possible material; an Englishman, to use commonsense in selecting and rejecting it; and a Frenchman, to write it. At various

times he planned to write on Galileo, on James II, on Cardinal Pole, and on the Council of Trent. There were scores of notebooks and thousands of slips; but the books were not written. Every project, even the biography of Döllinger, eventually dwindled to an essay or a review. There are, said Faraday, three necessary steps in useful research: to begin it, to end it, and to publish it. "The History of Liberty", which gradually turned into a mirage, was, in his last years, replaced by the plans for the Cambridge Modern History, but that work was eventually accomplished by other hands and inspired by other minds. In stately and sonorous sentences he had prescribed for it an impossible ideal and an unworkable plan. What were to be his own chapters were never even drafted; the *C.M.H.*, as actually produced, is a very useful work, but it is not "an illumination of the soul". Had he been a contemporary of Voltaire, Turgot and Gibbon, said Arnold Toynbee, he would have written his History of Liberty. But that remark takes account only of the then state of knowledge and not of Acton's character. He could equally have done it as a contemporary of Guizot and Vinet, had he been capable of ever doing it. The trouble was that he was without a sense of proportion and virtually without any sense of pattern and design. Intimately allied with this handicap was his defective literary sense and total disregard of the visual arts; like some other eminent thinkers he seems to have been almost devoid of aesthetic sensibility.

Acton's intense interest in contemporary affairs found various outlets. As the result of his long association with Döllinger he knew most of the eminent scholars in Europe and his own attainments enabled him to associate with them on virtually equal terms. It is on record that he was once placed at dinner between Robertson Smith and Mandell Creighton and the ensuing conversation showed that he knew almost as much about the Old Testament as the one, and quite as much about the Renaissance Popes as the other. The same thing occurred at a banquet at Berlin where he was placed between Harnack and Mommsen. Contemporary politics took him into the House of Commons for a while and though he made no mark there he developed a friendship for Gladstone that before long caused

him to be regarded as an "éminence grise". He certainly influenced Gladstone intellectually, even if not practically, especially in the matter of Irish Home Rule. About 1873 it was believed that he had been entrusted with a secret mission to Bismarck and it appears that for a moment he was actually a candidate for the Berlin Embassy. Later on, he entertained the more modest hope of the Legation at Stuttgart; but none of these hopes was fulfilled. No one knew better than Gladstone that, despite his international origins and high connexions, he was no diplomat. Later on, to the astonishment of his friends, he accepted a post as a Lord-in-Waiting in Gladstone's last government; the inducement was almost certainly the run of the library of Windsor Castle, and his profound knowledge of Germany earned him the high compliment from the Queen that the Prince Consort would have been glad to know him. Strangely enough, it was not Gladstone but Rosebery who gave him the Regius Professorship at Cambridge. Rosebery was of course already well acquainted with him and was sufficiently versed in European history to appreciate the immensity of his knowledge; but it is impossible not to suspect, all the same, that Rosebery's appointment of Acton to the Regius Professorship had much the same motive as Gladstone's gift of a peerage on the eve of the Vatican Council.

The fiftieth anniversary of Acton's death was fittingly commemorated by the publication of a number of his early essays edited by Mr. Douglas Woodruff. The purpose of this valuable book was twofold. First, to make available some highly characteristic papers of Acton's early years drawn from *The Rambler* and *The Home and Foreign Review*. These range from Bossuet (1858) and *The Catholic Press* (1859) to the trenchant paper on Fra Paolo Sarpi that appeared in *The Chronicle* in 1867. The most important was that on the Causes of the American Civil War (1861) for it attracted the attention of Gladstone, whereas the most interesting to us today are *Ultramontanism* (1863) and *The Munich Congress* (1864). It was an excellent idea to reprint these pieces, if only to dispel the impression that everything of importance had already appeared in *The History of Freedom and other Essays* (1907) and *Historical Essays and Studies* (1908), edited by Figgis and Laurence. Secondly, these papers stood

in need of an introduction specially written for the present-day reader. What was wanted was an accurate and sufficiently detailed account of the fortunes of *The Rambler* and *The Home and Foreign Review*, of Acton's relations with Simpson, Newman, Wetherell and others, a clearing-up of matters that had—with the best intentions—been left in some obscurity by Abbot Gasquet and not sufficiently elucidated by Bishop Mathew; and, above all, a clear explanation of Acton's aims and ideals at that time, and of the true reasons for his collision with the newly created hierarchy. What was conspicuously lacking in *Acton, The Formative Years* was an adequate account of the massive learning and strong influence of Döllinger. All this, so necessary for the understanding of what may be called The First Phase (1858–67), is now covered by Mr. Woodruff's Introduction which unfolds a somewhat complicated story of editorial vicissitudes. It is clearly brought out that Acton's aim was as far as possible to teach English students the principles and methods of historical criticism as practised in Germany, to demonstrate that such criticism was not in conflict with the faith, and in particular to secure its acceptance by the ecclesiastical authorities. The campaign was a failure, largely through the impetuosity of Simpson, partly through his own uncompromising attitude, by no means wholly on account of undue conservatism on the part of Wiseman and the hierarchy. Had Acton's mentality been more English and less German he might have realized that it would not occur to the bishops that it was for a young man of twenty-eight or so to bind and to loose, and equally that excursions into theology by a pupil of Döllinger might be viewed with suspicion in Rome. The only unguarded remark in this brilliant Introduction is that Acton, when he had become a political adherent of Gladstone, "was not looking for place". Within a few years he certainly was, and moreover, in the first book ever published about Acton, there stands for everyone to read, with equal admiration and astonishment, the superb panegyric of the Liberal statesman which, on 14 December, 1880, he actually addressed to Gladstone's daughter, Mrs. Drew.¹

A long period of comparative silence followed the failure

¹ *Letters to Mary Gladstone*. Edited by Herbert Paul, 1904, pp. 44–50.

of the attempt to educate Catholic opinion in England and to create here an intellectual climate similar to that of South Germany. What he and his friends regarded as merely obscurantist tendencies were strongly reinforced by Catholic sympathy with the troubles of Pius IX. The unification of Italy was being powerfully aided by English Liberal support, in which Gladstone was conspicuous, and during Acton's somewhat passive representation of an Irish constituency he had found that he could not agree with Irishmen who put the Temporal Power of the Pope, of which they knew very little, before the interests of their own countrymen. His opinions about Infallibility and his remarkable activities in Rome during the Vatican Council all served to increase his subsequent isolation. Meanwhile he went on with his plans for books to be written and began to accumulate that prodigious and unmanageable mass of material that is now, at length, being explored. This mountain of notes and memoranda has acted as a magnet to Dr Fasnacht, who has made a gallant attempt to frame some kind of scheme out of it and thereby to indicate the outlines of Acton's political philosophy. As far as possible Dr Fasnacht gives Acton's views in his own words, simply quoting him verbatim, which gives the atmosphere if it cannot achieve consistency. The endless effort to harmonize all that Acton regarded as Liberal with all that must be rendered to the Church; the need for the reconciliation of legitimate authority with the necessary freedom of enquiry and discussion; the various obsessions about "ungodly ethics" and about the varying degrees of guilt in persecution: these things alone would suffice to create an impossible task. Two special difficulties, pointedly mentioned as "problems of Acton interpretation", are that he never says in one place all that he thinks on any topic and that he intentionally made statements that appear to be grossly inconsistent, probably as the result of developing and changing views. Nevertheless, Dr Fasnacht has with great labour managed to construct a sort of guide which will be very useful to those who already know something of the material, and invaluable to those who are about to begin. The essence of his work is the use of the MSS. at Cambridge to which no serious attention had previously been paid by anyone but Professor H. Butter-

field.¹ With many apposite quotations and copious references both to the printed works and to the Additional MSS., we have here ten chapters in which Dr Fasnacht picks his way through the dense forest. Two of these chapters have already appeared in pamphlet form;² the others deal with *Les Doctrinaires* (B. Constant, Royer-Collard, Guizot), with Burke, with State Government and Democracy, with Fénelon, and so forth. Two chapters are wholly condensed from the lectures, essays and notes, followed by appendices, bibliography and index. Fairly descriptive of the whole work is the remark: "many of Acton's judgements would require a life-time's research to examine. This truth is part of his endless fascination, for no book on Acton can ever be more than an agenda for further study". "Fascination" is indeed the right word, for the great scholar never fails to charm and excite his readers, even after some of those displays of erudition which leave them exanimate. He possessed a sharp clarity of expression, surprising in so German a mentality, which gives many of his aphorisms and maxims an epigrammatic quality. Memorable sayings abound in all his writings, particularly in his letters. Yet he could be wilfully obscure, as when he told his audience at the Bridgnorth Institute that "it would be easy to point out a paragraph in Saint Augustine or a sentence of Grotius that outweighs the Acts of fifty Parliaments; and our case [Liberty] owes more to Cicero and Seneca, to Vinet and Tocqueville than to the laws of Lycurgus or the five codes of France". This intimidating utterance should of course be taken only as he meant it, as a warning of the high seriousness of the quest and of the impossibility of being satisfied with any limited survey. It likewise illustrates the extreme and excessive importance he attached to abstract ideas as against circumstance, expediency and empirical solutions, in treating the political affairs of mankind.

Miss Himmelfarb's study is an excellent example of the sound work now being done in the United States. It is a biography as well as a commentary, clear, accurate and informative. Following Professor Butterfield, she has not been misled

¹ *The Whig Historians* (1931 and 1950). *English Hist. Review*, LXI, 1946 (review of Acton, *The Formative Years*). *Lord Acton* (for the Historical Association), 1948.

² *Lord Acton on Nationality and Socialism*. Two lectures given at Oxford in 1949. (Oxford University Press, 1949.)

by Figgis and Laurence's loose dating of the letters; for instance, she correctly places the young Acton's going out to Munich in June 1850; she is aware of the relationship of the Acton family with Dupanloup; and she has had no difficulty in ascertaining from the MSS. what the young baronet of sixteen thought of Macaulay and who changed his mind. The decisive matter of Döllinger's influence on young Acton, which was the very essence of the "formation", is approached seriously, and it is much more important to know that "the Professor" had had strong objections to the proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, had advocated a National Council and a German National Church and the expulsion of the Jesuits, than to be told about the furniture of his dining-room. The significance of the visit to Rome (in Döllinger's company) and of the inspection of archives in Venice and Vienna helps to complete one's understanding of this period. The Granville influence, which was extremely limited and only touched externals, is also well assessed and it is amusing to know that Granville helped to get his step-son a peerage by telling the Queen that if Manning had any say in the matter Acton would not be promoted. Miss Himmelfarb also sees the point of the Irish Land Act of 1881 and shows how Acton was quicker than the economists to realize that the famous "Three F's" (fair rent, fixity of tenure and free sale) were not "socialistic" or "revolutionary" but plain justice in an intolerable situation. It was a very curious thing that the two men, other than John Morley, who strongly influenced Gladstone in the direction of Home Rule, should have been Acton and Manning. Acton, likewise, was as clear-sighted about the menace of Prussia—absolutism supported by a million bayonets. What would he have said if he were alive now?

The chapter on the Vatican Council, though not written from a Catholic point of view, is nevertheless a good one and it is made clear enough that Acton, as *Quirinus* outside the Council, was quite as "ardent" and tireless as Manning inside. The activities of both of them could very well be described in the same terms.

The most interesting feature of the book is the explanation of the misunderstanding which changed "my Professor" into

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"the Professor". After being his faithful disciple for twenty years Acton began to go beyond his teacher in the severity of his moral judgements and the intensity of his anti-Ultramontanism. Then, in 1879, on the death of Dupanloup, Lady Blennerhassett wrote an obituary article for the *Nineteenth Century* prefaced by a short letter from Döllinger. Acton found that the Bishop of Orleans had been let off too lightly. Dupanloup had been a defender of Pius IX, of the Syllabus and of the Temporal Power. It was an emotional shock and, what made the matter worse, it had retrospective effect. He remembered that he had thought *Janus* too mild and he began to search the past for the first traces of disagreement. Presently he discerned that "the Professor" had relaxed moral standards, wanted to explain rather than to judge and to temper judgement with mercy. He was refusing to see all the evil in man and was ascribing what he did see to intellectual deficiencies, not moral turpitude. Döllinger in fact had so far departed from the strict path as even to see "want of discernment as well as want of charity in excessive zeal in condemning". Moreover, "the Professor" was unsound on the Inquisition and had remained on good terms with Hefele, Theiner and Dupanloup who had defended it. To say a good word for a persecutor was, of course, condonation of murder and whosoever did that made himself an accessory after the fact. And so a private controversy went on by correspondence for about a dozen years, with the result of not only intensifying Acton's obsessions but of causing an emotional paralysis of his creative faculty. He ceased writing for publication and what he wrote in private letters became almost hysterically violent. If it is piquant to find the Catholic Acton rebuking the excommunicate Döllinger for laxity of standards, it is equally so to find him doing battle with the Anglican historian, Mandell Creighton, for being too lenient to the shortcomings of fifteenth-century Popes. In 1885 Acton reviewed two volumes of Creighton's *History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome* and treated them rather severely for the usual reason. In 1887 he did two further volumes for the *English Historical Review* (which he himself had founded) and this time he was absolutely hostile. Creighton replied very temperately, in the circumstances—he was actually the editor

of the *E.H.R.*—whereupon Acton wrote to him: "I find that people disagree with me either because they hold that Liberalism is not true, or that Catholicism is not true, or that both cannot be true together. If I could discover anyone who is not included in these categories I fancy we should get on very well together." To Creighton's remark that men in authority could not be "snubbed or sneezed at from our pinnacle of conscious rectitude" Acton replied in the memorable words that are often quoted partially: "I cannot accept your canon that we are to judge Pope and King unlike other men with a favourable presumption that they did no wrong. If there is any presumption it is the other way against holders of power, increasing as the power increases. Historic responsibility has to make up for the want of legal responsibility. Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Great men are almost always bad men, even when they exercise influence and not authority: still more when you superadd the tendency or the certainty of corruption by authority. There is no worse heresy than that the office sanctifies the holder of it. That is the point at which the negation of Catholicism and the negation of Liberalism meet and keep high festival, and the end learns to justify the means. . . ."

Another curious obsession was about the superlative merits of George Eliot. Every reader of the Letters to Mary Gladstone must have been astonished at the extravagant praise of the Mercian Sibyl. It was mainly because, in his view, she had provided in her novels a new sanction for morality, the practical test of earthly retribution. His own *forte* was the history of ideas, but he knew that this was not enough and so he welcomed George Eliot's doctrine as a powerful aid. On this score he awards her the pre-eminence among all writers of fiction. She had the quality which enables a novelist to feel himself *into* his characters, to think their thoughts and suffer their emotions, "exposing scientifically and indifferently the soul of a Vestal, a Crusader, an Anabaptist, an Inquisitor, a Dervish, a Nihilist, or a Cavalier, without attraction, preference or caricature". But this was doing thoroughly what he denounced Döllinger and Creighton for trying to do partly and tentatively. They, it seemed, had no right to attempt in history what George

Eliot did so admirably in fiction. Miss Himmelfarb shrewdly points out, also, that on his own principles he ought to have been a strong supporter of the then incipient movement for Women's Suffrage and other rights; but in 1884 he was arguing that women, subject as they were to Tory and clerical influence, could not be trusted with the vote. Here Acton appears for once to give up to Party what was meant for mankind.

Both these interesting books are enriched with many and apposite quotations in Acton's own words. The gain is very great because he possessed exceptional power of expression. Though a polyglot in reading and conversation he always wrote English with accuracy, force and distinction.

Some good pages are devoted to the exceedingly important Lectures on the French Revolution in which there can be discerned once again "the profound ambivalence at the heart of his philosophy". That contradiction never could be resolved. It was a matter beyond reasoning though always clothed in an impressive garb of dialectic. His moral scruples and his "Day of Judgement" verdicts were instinctive, spontaneous and, in a sense, irrational, like the response of poet or artist to that which inspires him. They sprang from his anxious conscience and his innate nobility of soul and, in a way that he could not understand, were the product of his own time for he lived in a period more civilized than ours, in which the things that we have known were inconceivable. Moreover, everything in his own personal circumstances and experience coalesced to make him remote from all those things for which he could make no allowance. Thus, his tensions and difficulties persisted below the surface, even in the atmosphere of social suavity and the frank enjoyment of his high position at Cambridge. There was really no "golden assurance" in the later years. The stern voice could be heard in the famous Inaugural, and we are told that he still said the same things in conversation, though he was no longer so explicit as he had been formerly.

John Morley, in a fine tribute to Acton in his *Recollections*, said that the workings of his mind were "a standing riddle". That is very true. Indeed, one is almost tempted to liken him to the Irish mayor who declared that he had discharged his duties without partiality on the one hand and without impartiality

on the other. But, when all is said and done, Acton was a marvellous man and on many counts will surely retain the admiration and gratitude of all who read him. To do so is always stimulating and even exciting: at his best he is, to use his own phrase, an illumination of the soul. He is a fount, not a reservoir, of knowledge and had he succeeded in writing his History of Liberty he would, as Morley said of Burke, have made great tides in human destiny very luminous. To the student of History and Politics he will long be a far-shining light, the more so because of the darkness that now threatens to come upon us.

J. J. DWYER

THE CHALLENGE TO MORAL THEOLOGY

THERE are always people with hard things to say about moralists and their science, and in recent years the probing rake of criticism has been wielded with more than usual vigour. From many quarters there has come a call for reform, and although there is no general agreement among the critics about the measures to be taken, there is a not inconsiderable weight of opinion that a serious rethinking and rewriting of moral theology is overdue.

The charges that are brought against it are of very various origin and of very unequal value. Some spring from the ferment of active theological speculation that has been working in the Church in the last few decades, some from an unfortunate *ignoratio elenchi*, coupled with a kind of radical impatience with tradition and prejudice against the past; some again from the Christian good sense of the faithful, some from a legitimate desire to incorporate what is good in modern philosophy and social doctrine into the thought and life of the Church; while in

some can be traced the influence of that corrosive current of "ethical existentialism", the dangers of which have recently been forcefully exposed by Pope Pius XII.¹

Those charges, in which not a few grains of sound and serious sense may be discerned amid a bushel of misunderstanding and misrepresentation, may be summarized somewhat as follows:

It is said that moral theology as presented in the text-books is not Christocentric: that it draws its strength not from the fire of Christian charity, nor from the light of Christian dogma, but from a kind of juridical science, brought to a high pitch of perfection, no doubt, but no longer the spirit of the Gospels. It has made an unnatural and lamentable division between law and love, between the category of acts and omissions that bind under pain of sin and the life of growth in virtues and grace which should be the normal life of the Christian. It has come to concentrate almost exclusively on the former, so that it has become the science of the "strict minimum", while the latter is now a Cinderella dismissed to the unfrequented corner called ascetical and mystical theology. So in practice, it is asserted, the strict minimum tends to be exalted into the norm of morality, with unfortunate effects not only in the formation of the clergy but also in the life of the faithful.

Or again, it is alleged that the moralists by considering the various virtues and precepts in isolated categories, without reference to the higher ends to which they are means, obscure the unity and purposeful direction of all moral activity. The all-transforming action of sanctifying grace seems to enter rarely into their discussions. The awareness of the good life as a loving adhesion to a personal God is replaced by a Stoic correctness in observing principles and duties for their own sake—or worse, by a Pharisaic emphasis on a routine of external observance; while the notion of sin as a wrenching of the soul out of its loving course towards God, the only meaning of its activity, is replaced by the consideration of sins as juridical entities to be neatly docketed and classified like items on an inventory.

¹ Allocution of 18 April, 1952, to the *Fédération Mondiale des Jeunes Femmes Catholiques* on the concept of the moral law.

Then historical considerations may be brought in. The mediaeval scholastics are accused of having, in their uncritical enthusiasm for Aristotelianism, taken over from the Stagyrite a secular ethic which they proceeded to enshrine, somewhat incongruously, in the sanctuary of Christian theology. (St Thomas himself is taken to task for having been able to write his *Secunda* before and independently of his *Tertia Pars*.) Then, at the end of the Middle Ages the new science of moral theology grew up, it is alleged, too much under the influence of the canonists and jurists. So the treatise *De Justitia*, for example, has ever since then remained closely tied to the provisions of Roman Law, although, the critics claim, the hard individualism which is so often favoured by the latter accords ill with the modern awareness of social justice—indeed with the doctrine of the Mystical Body.

Meanwhile the Renaissance had revived the ancient complexities of vice, and in the new-found interest in solving unusual and difficult cases the pages of the moralists became weighted with discussions which seemed to suppose that the flock of Christ, living with the life of grace, was constantly ravaged by the gravest and most shameful sins. Then in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries came the great controversies about rigidism and laxism and probabilism, which are said to have left an excessively juridical stamp on moral theology. For in all those disputes moral problems were presented not as the drama of the soul's response to God's love, but as a lawsuit in which liberty and law contended with a wealth of subtle pleading for a forensic victory.

More radical still, there are those who dismiss moral theology as out of touch with modern problems—a mass of ever-repeated texts and casuistical reasonings which has gone rolling on through the centuries gathering matter and momentum, but is now at a far remove from the ordinary moral judgements of men. Finally there has arisen a school of thought that holds that in any case it is useless to construct a universal science of morality since every moral situation is unique, a personal, ineffable adventure of the self seeking its highest values, which by reason of that very uniqueness no system of abstract principles can foresee or govern. That such a theory, with its

latent poison of moral anarchy, is capable of threatening infection even within the Church the Pope's warning has shown.

In recent years not a little has been written¹ and much more has been spoken about these seethings and yearnings for a new approach to moral theology. Now a book has appeared, *Le Primat de la Charité en Théologie Morale*, by Fr Gerard Gilleman, S.J.,² which resumes the question in all its breadth, sympathizing with what is valuable in those appeals for reform while signalling what is false or dangerous, and putting forward a positive contribution to the discussion of no little interest.

Moral theology may seem to be an eminently practical science in which it is possible to get on very well without the intricacies of metaphysical speculation. Yet the author maintains that to understand the true meaning of what moral theology teaches and even to apply it aright in practice it is necessary to have an insight into the metaphysical, or rather profoundly theological roots of man's moral activity. For those who study it without such an insight, he would admit, moral science can indeed develop into a mere juridical system, as it were a body without a soul.

He devotes accordingly a large section of his work—about half the total number of pages—to the consideration of those deep springs of human action, first on the natural plane, then in the order of nature transformed by grace. So in a quite unobjectionable sense he pleads for greater attention to the subjective aspect of morality. Not, of course, that kind of subjective morality that overrides the objective principles of natural and positive law: what he maintains is that the meaning of moral duties and of human acts themselves cannot be adequately grasped if they are considered only in their extra-subjective setting—that is, with the particular determinations given them from without by object and circumstances—and

¹ Cf. G. Thils, *Tendances Actuelles en Théologie Morale* (Gembloux, 1940); I. Zeiger, S.J., *De Conditione Theologiae Moralis Hodierna*, in *Periodica*, Tom. XXVIII (1939); O. Lottin, O.S.B., *Principes de Morale* (Louvain, 1947), Tom. I, p. 40 seq.—“*Causes de l'infériorité actuelle de la théologie morale*”; M. Labourdette, O.P., *Théologie Morale* in *Revue Thomiste* 1950–51, p. 192 seq.; A. Vermeersch, S.J., *Soixante Ans de Théologie Morale* in *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 1929, p. 863 seq., and *Theologia Moralis* (Rome 1933), pp. 7–9 and 41–2; E. Mersch, S.J., *Morale et Corps Mystique* (Brussels, 1937).

² Museum Lessianum, Louvain, 1952.

without interpreting them in the light of the natural and supernatural finality of the thinking, willing and loving subject. To consider those exterior data alone is not to express the whole moral truth—rather as a flower cannot be adequately explained without reference to the stem and roots and leaves which produced it, and if separated from them becomes dry and lifeless.

From the "external" setting of human acts comes the material aspect of the total moral object, but the formal aspect comes from the inner dynamism of the person who acts. That is why it is very relevant for the moralist to explore the nature of that dynamism and to recognize its essential concausality, indeed its primacy of causality in every moral act, as also in the structure of the virtues, the subjective habits from which moral actions proceed.

For his task Fr Gilleman builds on a solidly Thomist foundation of psychology and metaphysics, while making no secret of his sympathetic appreciation of the parallel ideas of modern philosophers, and even translating himself into their idiom at times, in a way that illuminates both the new and the traditional modes of expression. (Indeed the crispness and clarity of his thought, firmly outlined by the unobtrusive scholastic background, is in rather welcome contrast to the rhapsodical vaguenesses which in recent years have come to us so plentifully from across the Channel, from the minor prophets of Existence and Person and Value.) This first and speculative half of the book has much interest of its own, even apart from the main design for which it provides the setting. There is hardly a subject which the author passes on his way on which he does not throw a quickening shaft of light, often from some unexpected angle. There is, for instance, within the compass of fifty pages a little self-contained treatise on the metaphysics and theology of love, well worth reading for its own sake as a stimulating judgement on that perennial debate.

The contribution that this book offers towards the reanimation of moral theology does not take the form of a putting forward of novelties and facile remedies. As with many a work which has proved a leaven to Catholic thought, its force lies in disengaging and clearly stating a quite simple yet seminal

truth, and in proceeding to show its universal fruitfulness by a whole range of doctrinal and practical applications.

Briefly, and so inevitably impoverishing the author's thought, his ruling idea may be summarized as follows:

Man's being is radically a tending, a teleological drive: all that he wills is a manifestation of that tending, which even on the natural plane has the character of love.¹ Now this radical dynamism does not attain its object fully and immediately, but only by stages. Man's being is a developing of the potential into the actual in a framework of space and time; and just as his understanding is not a luminously complete intuition (such as, St Thomas argues, would be the knowledge of an angelic spirit) but can possess truth only progressively through conceptual and discursive processes, so his moral dynamism only proceeds towards its goal mediately, by unfolding itself through moral actions. And rather as the concept, in producing which there is a certain concausality from the material world, is a participation in and an expression of the intellect's primary but opaque intuition of reality, so the moral act (and virtue), which is determined by a certain material concausality from the outer objective setting, is a participation or mediation of the primary moral dynamism.²

Now we live in an existing order of grace, and there the natural *tendance foncière* is divinized by charity, and all that has been said of the emanation of moral activity from its dynamic source must be understood in the higher context of charity. Charity is now the radical dynamism from which flow both virtues and acts, and the mediaeval axiom, *Caritas est forma virtutum*, is used by Fr Gillemann to express the conception that charity penetrates intrinsically into the operations of all the virtues: not indeed as their "substantial form" (for that would be to deny any formal distinction between the virtues), nor on the other hand as an accidental quality added to them, but rather as the causative source of which they are participations,

¹ A love that is endowed with a natural "polarity", yet is sovereignly free. It is a love that seems to be signed with intrinsic paradox, for it is experienced as both a self-seeking and a self-leaving love: a paradox that is only resolved by the discovery that the completion and perfection of the person lies in communion.

² And just as we know of the opaque intellective intuition through its echo in the *habitus primorum principiorum*, so we know of what is a kind of moral intuition through its echo in the *synderesis*.

and which gives to all virtues and acts their intrinsic finality or moral direction.¹

Such, in inadequate summary, is the doctrinal key that Fr Gillemann would use to give entry to the inner sanctuary of moral theology. The moralist who used it, he thinks, would no longer be able to treat of charity in an isolated chapter as one, albeit the noblest, among other virtues: his task would be to re-express, or at least to rethink his whole science in terms of charity, for all principles, all obligations, all virtues flow causally from charity and receive their meaning from it.

The moral life can be seen as a tension between two poles, one primary, interior, spiritual, the other secondary, exterior and immersed in bodily determinations (not, of course, in the Bergsonian sense of two independent and rival sources of morality, but rather as related in the scholastic sense in which the *actus primus* is the *causa in esse* of the *actus secundus*). To veer towards either pole forgetting the necessity of the other can lead to shipwreck: the interior primacy of charity can be falsified into quietism by those who neglect its necessary ordination to "incarnate" itself in human activity, or into laxism by those who interpret it as they wish to override particular moral laws; but the contrary danger is that external observance and lifeless legalism against which the criticisms referred to at the beginning of this article are directed.

Now it may very reasonably be objected: this is all very fine, but what difference does it make in practice? It is one thing to state profound speculative truths, but if the aim is to reform moral theology concrete proposals must be put forward as to how its present formulation is to be improved.

The author does not sidestep this question. His book is certainly not intended to be a new and reformed text-book of moral theology, as he makes clear. Nor does he dream of

¹ This conception of the relation of charity to the other virtues, which is central to Fr Gillemann's thesis, was a *quaestio disputata* even in the Middle Ages. His interpretation certainly seems to be favoured by at least some texts of St Thomas. It is in the main the one adopted by Cajetan, the Salmanticenses, Billot, etc. The opponents of this view understand the relation of charity to the other virtues either in the sense that charity "moves" them initially through the *imperium* of the will, or that all virtuous acts receive an extrinsic finality from an explicit act of charity previously made and virtually persisting. (Cf. Lottin, *op. cit.*, Tom. II, pp. 201-11.)

demolishing the great fabric of practical wisdom that the corporate work of generations of Catholic moralists has built up—which is now firmly built into the structure of the Church itself.¹ Still, his purpose is in a true sense a practical one: to show how the reform of moral theology lies in the forming of the outlook of those who study it (not omitting those who teach and write it). More is needed than sound conclusions to make a science in practice Christian, evangelical, holy. Moral theology is a theology, not a mere jurisprudence. So he describes his aim:

“établir les principes d’une méthode qui reconnaisse explicitement à la charité dans la formulation de la théologie morale la même fonction vitale qu’elle exerce dans la réalité de la vie chrétienne et dans la révélation du Christ . . . un rôle d’âme, d’animation”.²

To this end he devotes several sections of the latter part of his book to dwelling on the *attitudes foncières* which should govern both the study and the application of Christian moral science: the spirit of generosity, of the imitation of Christ, of self-dedication; the filial confidence of adopted sonship, the awareness of Eucharistic communion in the Mystical Body; the set of the will towards mortification, towards obedience, towards perfection.

Finally, after considering how a reintegration is to be brought about of moral theology with both spiritual and pastoral theology, he makes particular applications of his doctrine to several of the traditional treatises of the moralists—law and obligation, sin, religion, love of neighbour and of self, chastity and marriage. Even the treatise *De Justitia* is made to pay tribute to the sovereign sway of charity—for frigid-seeming justice, so often regarded as a stern rival of charity, must, like all the virtues, be expressed as a *mediation* of charity, and so certain too-individualistic notions about it must be revised.

The value of the author’s method must be judged largely by

¹ He does, it is true, suggest a number of modifications to traditional conclusions, in the light of his ruling idea. He favours, too, the adoption of another classification and hierarchy of the virtues, nearer to the values of the Gospels than is the grouping given in the Nichomachean Ethics.

² P. 13.

these applications that he makes of it, and they must be read in full to be appreciated. Whether or not it would be feasible or fruitful to incorporate such applications into a practical text-book of moral theology must remain an open question until someone has actually made the experiment. In any event, Fr Gilleman's study will prove a valuable complement to existing text-books, and it is safe to say that it cannot fail to be stimulating, even for those who do not accept his position unreservedly.

Some reservations may indeed suggest themselves. It may be objected that a *morale de charité* can have its own dangers as great as and even greater than those of formalism: that if it is put forward as a practical guide for the formation of conscience it will, unless checked by the safeguards of a strict objective morality, lend itself easily to abuse and laxity. It is in the name of a higher and untrammelled love that the "new morality" against which the Pope has pronounced dispenses with the irksome details of natural and positive law.¹ It is perhaps relevant to note that the treatise of St Thomas, that the Pope singled out for the attention of moralists seeking norms for the formation of the individual conscience, was not the treatise on charity but the treatise on prudence.²

As to the charge of "moral minimalism", it is one that the Catholic moralist must in one sense admit, and about which he can offer little satisfaction to his critics. The chief aim of the science of moral theology as it exists in the Church today is the formation and guidance of confessors whom the Church can officially approve for the ministry of the Sacrament of Penance, and she must have some sure criteria by which to judge that they possess the required knowledge and judgement. The confessor is without doubt also a guide and a teacher of perfection, but the primary work of the sacramental tribunal which Christ instituted is the remission of sins. So moral theology has to deal with sins, and has to determine their limits, their species and their distinction in unambiguous terms. And so it cannot escape from the duty of considering at every turn the moral minimum

¹ Allocution of 18 April, 1952, Nos. 8-12. Needless to say, Fr Gilleman's own ideas are very different from those of the *Situationsethik* to which the Pope refers.

² Ibid. No. 17.

and what it is that binds under pain of sin. It belongs to the Church's power of the keys that her ministers should know clearly what human acts separate man from God, should mark out plainly the edge of the abyss beyond which lies death for the soul.

Finally, some may object that Fr Gillemann and the more radical reformers with whom he is in partial agreement are rather too hard on the text-books and compendia. If moral theology is impoverished these are surely rather the symptoms than the causes of that condition. But in any case, even if they do present a dry and juridical appearance, even if they do artificially divide up and systematize the moral life, even if they do put forward technical conclusions without giving their spiritual context, is that really an evil? Every scientific study, even of Christian theology, requires some dry systematization. It is the spiritual life of the one who reads and uses those books that will make their dry words live, as Fr Gillemann himself eloquently testifies, and not a mere rewriting of the books.

FRANCIS CLARK, S.J.

THE "SALVE REGINA"

WITHIN the last few years the English-speaking Catholic has had at his disposal two outstanding and complementary helps to his devotional use of the Bible and the Missal in the Knox translation of the Holy Scriptures and the new English Missal. In the latter not only are the Scripture extracts in the new version, but the collects and other prayers are rendered in a vigorous, sound and worthy English which compares well with Cranmer's masterly translations. It is well, too, that our Sunday congregations should be able to hear those sometimes obscure Pauline Epistles rendered into an English and a construction understandable by the people of today, and that the well-known Gospel stories should be made more vivid by being told in a fresh wording. Nor is this all; much of the Common of

the Mass, which in the older English missals is a mere transliteration of the Latin and sometimes almost meaningless, has been done into standard English; for example, the word "communicantes" in the Canon, usually rendered as "communicating with", is now given meaning and sense: "in the unity of holy fellowship we reverence the memory of . . ." Mgr Knox has beguiled many of us into re-reading the Bible and there is no doubt that this Daily Missal (even if only put to use on Sundays) will work wonders in creating interest and understanding among intelligent lay-folk for that venerable, yet ever new, *Missale Romanum*. Both these new books prove that our Catholic heritage, whether Hebrew, Greek or Latin in origin, can be rendered into good English without blunting the edge of the original.

The time seems opportune, therefore, for some Catholic scholar—a poet for preference—to give us an adequate translation of the "Salve Regina", for this prayer is in daily use after Mass, after the Rosary and at many other times by the many thousands of English Catholics who have no Latin and who therefore little know how much they are missing when repeating this age-old antiphon in its English dress.

Round about the time of the Book of Common Prayer in the sixteenth century, or of the Authorized Version of 1611, some scholar of the calibre of John Healey might have produced the sort of dramatic version of the "Salve Regina" we need, but so far as I know it was never done, and it remains for our own generation to attempt a task which when done could be left, as the Knox Bible and the New Latin Psalter have been, to make its way on its own merits. Catholics rightly enough are a conservative folk and they would certainly take their time to get accustomed to any new rendering, just as 1500 years ago churchmen were slow in their welcome of St Jerome's Vulgate.

Nevertheless the case for a revision is a strong one; we are not getting anything like full value for the Latin, whereas in such translations as the "Divine Praises" we have occasionally produced an improvement; the hammer-blow of the reiterated "Blessed" ("Blessed be God", etc.) is more effective than the ringing of the changes required by Latin declension on "Benedictus", "Benedictum" and "Benedicta". However, instead of

"great" ("great Mother of God") it might be better to render "excelsa" by "renowned" or "illustrious".

Any English translation of the "Salve Regina" ought to stress its essentially dramatic character, for there is in it the suggestion of a royal progress through streets packed with cheering crowds hailing their sovereign. Nor may we ignore the note of wistful sadness, for it is as if this Queen, herself in temporary exile, were visiting some Displaced Persons' Camp to cheer up her own subjects there who have been turned out of home and country by enemy action. Although safe for the moment they want their own Queen and their own country "after this exile". One calls to mind the triumphant if tragic story of those brave French nuns singing the "Salve" in the tumbril on their way to the guillotine.

The failure of our present version is due mainly to (1) the inadequate rendering of certain words; (2) the ignoring of others; and (3) the interpolation of new words not in the original at all.

An example of the first is the rendering of "dulcedo" by "sweetness"; it is simply impossible to imagine a Queen being greeted by a loyal shout of "Our Sweetness". Most of us know the trenchant language G. K. Chesterton used in the essay in which he deals with our use of "sweetness" as a rendering of "dulcedo".¹ A point well worth noticing is that "dulcis" and "exsilium" refer back to "dulcedo" and "exsules"; if it can be done the translation should preserve this alliteration. "Exiles" and "exiled" is easy enough, but how are we to deal with "dulcis" and "dulcedo"? One translator later on in this article proposes "delight" and "delightful". It may be that in earlier centuries "dulcedo" and "sweetness" were not the miles apart they are today, for words like nations have their ups and downs—the word "nice" is another example of a debased adjective.

Two other words which need better Englishing are "clemens" and "pia", for "clement" is misleading as a translation of "clemens", being used today in its negative form for meteorological purposes, whilst "pia" signifies much more than "loving". "Pius Aeneas" certainly loved his father Anchises, but his *pietas*, like that of the Holy Virgin Mother, included his fellow citizens

¹ *The Thing*, the chapter "Some of our Errors."

and his country, and in her case, as the Magnificat shows, extended to the elect of all nations who in due time would proclaim her blessed as they acknowledged the Kingship of her Son. Therefore we need a word to express the Christian expansion of the pagan "pietas", and perhaps "kind" will do, for it has the double idea of "love" and "kindred"; Shakespeare himself suggests it: "more than kin and less than kind".

It is evident that the inadequate rendering of these words tends to mute and benumb the antiphon, and the odd thing is that both omission and interpolation increase this effect. The worst offence here is the dropping of "Eja", for this exclamation increases the dramatic tension. Again, the very point of an adjective is to add something to its noun, but "Hail, O Queen" is more arresting than "Hail, holy Queen"; and it seems better to follow the Latin, "our Advocate" than to interpolate "most gracious". Our version follows the French in "*poor* banished [which as suggested above should be 'exiled'] children of Eve", but there is no "poor" in the original and it seems better so, nor is there an "our" there between "hoc" and "exsilium", and indeed "this our" needs careful use both in speech and writing if stodginess is to be avoided.

In a letter to *The Tablet* Mr Finberg makes the point that in any translation of the "Salve" there is a need to preserve as far as possible the assonances of the Latin, and he mentions two pairs of them, "clamamus" and "suspiramus", "pia" and "Maria"; this antiphon, simple though the Latin is, abounds in beautiful subtleties of this kind, some of which it may prove impossible to reproduce in English.

Some months ago there was a correspondence in *The Tablet* about this need for a new translation, and for those who did not follow it some reference to the various suggestions put forward may be useful. It seems that the Marquess of Bute published a devotional book, of which a second edition appeared in 1900, and in it was a translation of the "Salve". Here is the text:

Hail, O Queen, Mother of Mercy, our life, our sweetness and our hope, all hail!

To thee do we cry, the banished children of Eve, towards thee do we sigh, weeping and groaning in this vale of tears.

Ah, then! thou our advocate, turn upon us those merciful eyes
of thine,
And after this our exile show us Jesus, the blessed Fruit of thy
womb.
O most merciful, O most gracious, O most sweet Virgin Mary.

A more compressed translation was made by the late Bishop Burton of Clifton, and it was used in his chapel at Leigh Woods, but whether he knew Lord Bute's translation I am unable to say. The Bishop's punctuation may have been different, I never saw the manuscript, but here are the words:

Hail, Queen, Mother of Mercy! Hail, our life, our sweetness
and our hope! To thee do we cry, banished children of Eve; to
thee do we send up our sighs, moaning and weeping in this
vale of tears. Come then, our Advocate, turn upon us those
pitying eyes of thine, and after this exile show unto us Jesus, the
blessed fruit of thy womb; O gentle, O kind, O sweet Virgin
Mary.

Both these renderings are much nearer to the Latin, and
what is so important, they both bring out the dramatic quality
of the original. But both use "banished" for "exiled", and so
miss the point of the reference back of "this exile", and both
keep the word "sweet".

Mr H. P. R. Finberg, one of the Editors of the New Missal
referred to above, proposed the following translation which is
shorter still:

Hail, Queen, Mother of mercy! hail, our life, our delight,
our hope! To thee we cry, we banished children of Eve; to thee
we sigh, mourning and weeping in this vale of tears. Come
then, turn those pitying eyes of thine upon us, thou who art our
Advocate; and when this banishment is ended, show us the
blessed fruit of thy womb, Jesus: O gentle, loving, beloved
Virgin Mary.

To complete the list of renderings suggested during this
correspondence here is F. R. Hoare's translation:

Queen, we salute thee!
 Mother most compassionate, our life, delight and hope, we greet
 thee!
 Our cry goes up to thee, from Eve's exiled children;
 Our sighs go up to thee, as in this valley of tears we moan and
 weep.
 Come, then, pleader of our causes,
 Turn those compassionate eyes of thine towards us.
 And, when our exile here is ended,
 Show us Jesus,
 The blessed offspring of thy womb,
 O gentle, kind, delightful maiden, Mary.

It will be noticed that in both of these quite recent versions there is the right feel for the original Latin as well as a bringing out of the stirring dramatic quality. May we hope for many more attempts on this difficult task, for the very simplicity of the Latin is apt to baulk the translator.

J. H. DARBY

SHORT NOTICE

Our Bishops Speak. Statements of the Hierarchy of the United States and of the N.C.W.C. 1919-1951. Pp. 402. (Bruce. \$6.)

THESE documents, eighty-two in number, are the official record of the bishops in conference and of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. Social problems predominate, such as reconstruction schemes, education, the family, or child welfare, and though these are questions which have to be approached in relation to the conditions of life in America, yet the principles applied by the bishops are of universal application and cannot fail to interest Catholics throughout the world, particularly where the English language is spoken. The N.C.W.C. is, in effect, Catholic Action as desired by the Holy See, and the Conference's pronouncements are an excellent example of the principle of Catholic Action being applied in a practical and decisive manner whenever the occasion demanded intervention.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

EVENING MASS—EUCCHARISTIC FAST

How should one inform the faithful about the number of solid meals permitted and the kind of alcoholic drink that is allowed during the period between midnight and evening Mass? The Instruction is not very clear on this matter. (S.)

REPLY

Constitution *Christus Dominus*, 6 January 1953, N.VI; THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1953, XXXVIII, p. 175: . . . servato a sacerdote ieiunio trium horarum quoad cibum solidum et potus alcoholicos, unius autem horae quoad ceteros potus non alcoholicos. In his autem Missis christifideles ad Sacram Synaxim accedere poterunt, hac eadem servata norma ad ieiunium Eucharisticum quod attinet. . . .

Instr. S.Off. l'Osservatore Romano, 11 January 1953; THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1953, XXXVIII, p. 180: n. 13. Sacerdotes . . . Liquoribus (ut infra). Ante vel post dictam refectionem sumere possunt (*exceptis omne genus alcoholicis*), aliquid per modum potus, usque ad unam horam ante Missam vel communionem.

(The same) *A.A.S.*, 1953, XLV, p. 50: n. 13. Sacerdotes, qui pomeridianis horis Missam celebrant, itemque fideles qui in eadem sacram communionem recipiunt, possunt *inter refectionem*, permissam usque ad tres horas ante Missae vel communionis initium, sumere *congrua moderatione* alcoholicas quoque potiones inter mensam suetas (v. gr. vinum, cerevisiam, etc.), exclusis quidem liquoribus. Quoad potus autem, quos sumere possunt ante vel post dictam refectionem, usque ad unam horam ante Missam vel communionem, excluditur *omne alcoholicorum genus*.

i. From canon 9 church laws are promulgated by being printed in the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, unless some other method of promulgation is prescribed in individual cases. On this occasion

the announcement accompanying the first edition of the documents in *l'Osservatore* stated that the new rules would be promulgated in the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 16 January 1953. Accordingly it is certain that the authentic text of n. 13 is that contained in the official journal.

ii. The obscurity of the first recension was noted by commentators¹ and it must be confessed that the matter is not really clarified by the amended version given in the *Acta*. The terms of Norma VI of the Constitution are quite clear: no distinctions between the different kinds of alcohol, no prohibition of any one kind, no direction that the permitted alcohol may be taken only with meals, and no implied suggestion that only one solid meal is allowed. We are bound, however, if its meaning can be ascertained, to obey the Instruction as well as the rule of the Constitution, and to accept all the distinctions and reservations given therein. The original text was admittedly unsatisfactory, as the amended version proves, and we may perhaps be given a third recension in due course. Meanwhile the direction, as contained in the amended version, can mean one of three things.

i. Only one solid refectio is allowed on the day when priest or faithful receive the Holy Eucharist at evening Mass, and it may be taken at any time during the day up to three hours beforehand. At this one meal non-spirituuous alcoholic drink is permitted, and for the rest of the day non-alcoholic liquid nourishment may be taken up to one hour beforehand.

ii. Non-spirituuous alcoholic drink is permitted with one solid refectio up to three hours beforehand. Other refectioes of solid food are also allowed up to three hours beforehand, but at these meals any form of alcohol is forbidden. Liquid non-alcoholic nourishment may be taken up to one hour beforehand.

iii. There is no restriction whatever on the number of solid meals accompanied, if desired, by non-spirituuous alcohol, up to three hours beforehand. But apart from these meals only non-alcoholic liquid nourishment is allowed up to one hour beforehand.

Of these three possible interpretations we think the third to

¹ THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1953, XXXVIII, p. 162; *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, 1953, p. 195, n. 3.

be the most likely. For the first imposes in effect an ecclesiastical as well as a Eucharistic fast, and in the event of the evening Mass being at a late hour would impose serious burdens on clergy and faithful, burdens which it would be unreasonable to find in a document which purposes to lessen them. The second is also unlikely when we bear in mind the reason for the exclusion of alcohol, which is presumably to exclude the possibility of even slight inebriation before communicating. This requires the exclusion to apply to the period immediately preceding rather than to more distant periods, whereas the reverse would be true if the second explanation is correct: one could take non-spirituos alcohol with a meal three hours beforehand but not at a meal ten hours beforehand, which seems unreasonable. If the meaning in (iii) is correct it might be expressed by putting *refectio* into the plural in n. 13 and by changing *possunt* to *velint*. It would then read: "Quoad potus autem quos sumere velint extra dictas refectiones, usque ad unam horam ante Missam vel communionem, excluditur omne alcoholicorum genus."

CORRIGENDUM. March, 1953, p. 161, last line: *for non-alcoholicos read alcoholicos.*

EUCCHARISTIC FAST—"GRAVE INCOMMODUM"

It is not clear how a confessor should advise persons who, though living more than one mile and a half from the church or attending Mass after 9 a.m., are nevertheless able to observe the fast without any inconvenience. Do the new rules require grave inconvenience to be added to the distance or the late hour? Or may one conclude that distance and late hour are in themselves a grave inconvenience, and quite apart from any added inconvenience to the person seeking counsel? (T.)

REPLY

i. Norma V reads "... qui ob grave incommodum—hoc est, ob debilitantem laborem, ob tardiores horas . . . vel ob longinquum iter . . ."¹ The Instruction n. 10 similarly: "Casus

¹ THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1953, XXXVIII, p. 174.

autem, in quibus *grave incommodum* habetur tres enumerantur . . .

(a) *labor debilitans* . . . (b) *Hora tardior* . . . (c) *Longum iter* . . ."¹

The implication in these phrases is that the documents give three examples, any one of which is a *grave incommodum* of itself and without any further reference to the age or circumstances of the person wishing to benefit by the new rules.

ii. When, however, we bear in mind that in all these cases the faithful are bound to consult a confessor in order to obtain his advice, this previous condition attached to the lawful use of the new facilities seems to suggest that the late hour or the distance do not necessarily justify taking a non-alcoholic drink, but only in the case of those persons who suffer grave inconvenience from the distance or the late hour. On the question of exhausting labour there might occasionally be some difference of opinion whether actually the labour is exhausting or not, but there cannot be any possible debate about verifying the distance or the hour of Mass. One therefore wonders what the confessor has to advise about, unless it be on the point whether his questioner is suffering grave inconvenience owing to the distance or late hour.

iii. In our view the three examples given by the documents are best regarded as "presumptions" of *grave incommodum* which, for the vast majority of persons, are always verified. If, in a given instance, the presumption happens not to be verified, e.g. in the case of a person who every morning takes a long walk before breaking his fast, and enjoys doing so, the relaxation cannot lawfully be claimed. But this view is by no means certain, and pending an official solution of the doubt confessors may sanction a non-alcoholic drink for all persons indiscriminately who come within one of the three examples, and without seeking any further justification.

PASCHAL VIGIL IN CONVENT CHAPELS

May the superiors of a convent wherein it has been permitted, with an indult, to perform the rites of the *triduum* of

¹ Ibid., p. 178. The text in *A.A.S.* runs: "*Causae autem gravis incommodi tres enumerantur, quas extendere non licet.*"

Holy Week according to the *Memoriale Rituum* of Benedict XIII, properly ask the Ordinary's permission for the celebration of the newly constituted paschal vigil? (C.)

REPLY

Instaurata vigilia, 11 January 1952; THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1952, XXXVII, p. 167. Ordinatio 5: Ubi copia habeatur sacrorum ministrorum, vigilia paschalis solemniter celebretur, secundum rubricas in Ordine Sabbati sancti descriptas. 6. Ubi vero sacri ministri desint, servantur rubricae peculiares, in eodem Ordine Sabbati sancti suis locis insertae.

It is quite certain, firstly, that the *Memoriale Rituum* for the triduum of Holy Week could by indult lawfully be used in semi-public oratories; and, secondly, that the new paschal vigil requires in all cases, whether in parish churches or semi-public oratories, the Ordinary's permission. The point, therefore, about the above question is whether, in addition to their existing indult always used in the past, the superiors of a convent chapel require an additional indult before they can qualify, so to speak, for the Ordinary's permission to use the new rite. We think that no additional indult is required and that the superiors may apply, in the same way as a parish priest applies, to the Ordinary for the required permission. It will be observed that the relevant portions of *Instaurata vigilia* do not refer expressly to *Memoriale Rituum*, but provide a simplified rite which may always be used, if sacred ministers are lacking, by those who have obtained the Ordinary's permission for celebrating the restored paschal vigil. Nevertheless it will obviously happen in practice that those places which formerly used the *Memoriale Rituum* will adopt the modifications given in *Instaurata vigilia*.

TENURE OF "VICARIUS PAROECIALIS"

From canon 471 this type of vicar approximates in nearly every respect to a parish priest, and his presentation is said to

be perpetual if he is not a religious. Does this perpetuity mean that he is, as regards stability, in the position of an immovable parish priest? (X.)

REPLY

Canon 471, §1: Si paroecia pleno iure fuerit unita domui religiosae, ecclesiae capitulari vel alii personae morali, debet constitui vicarius, qui actualem curam gerat animarum, assignata eidem congrua fructuum portione, arbitrio episcopi.

§3: Vicarius si sit religiosus est amovibilis sicut parochus religiosus de quo in can. 454, §5; ceteri omnes vicarii ex parte praesentantis sunt perpetui, sed ab Ordinario possunt, ad instar parochorum, removeri, monito eo qui praesentavit.

The question relates to a moral person, such as a Cathedral chapter or college, which includes a number of priests, one of whom has to be appointed to the actual care of souls in the parish united *pleno iure* to the moral person. Canon 454, §2, expressly recognizes the force of customs and privileges in this rather unusual situation, and they apply equally in our view to §3 of the canon. The secular parochial vicar is as near as may be the equivalent of a parish priest, and approximates to the degree of stability enjoyed by such. It seems to us that the perpetuity mentioned in the canon refers chiefly to the act of the moral person in appointing a vicar: its head, say the provost of the chapter, may not change the appointment at will. The local Ordinary may do so "ad instar parochorum" which means, according to Fanfani, that the Ordinary may institute the vicar either as an immovable or as a movable priest in charge, and the process of removal will apply respectively as in Book IV, 3, of the Code.¹ But lawful custom or privilege in a given instance may deprive the parochial vicar of this stability: for example, where it is the custom for the members of a chapter or college to accept nomination for a year, as might happen when it is thought desirable that each member should have a term of office in rotation.²

¹ Fanfani, *De Iure Parochorum*, §449.

² Cf. Brys, *Iuris Canonici Compendium*, I, §576, f.n. 2.

ORIGINS OF "DIES IRAE"

Popular liturgical works allege that "Dies Irae" was originally an Advent sequence, which has now become attached to Masses for the Dead. Is this a likely and a provable proposition? (R.)

REPLY

i. The "Dies Irae" was universally attributed to the Franciscan Thomas of Celano (c. 1250) up to about 1931, and though various earlier versions of certain stanzas were discovered, it was still thought that this Franciscan was at least the author in the sense that he assembled and re-wrote the stanzas. This view is now generally abandoned since the finding at Naples by Dom M. Inguanes, the librarian of Monte Cassino, of a text differing but slightly from the one in our missals, and dating from about the end of the twelfth century.¹ But writers, unaware perhaps of this discovery, are still found who attribute the authorship to Thomas of Celano.² The actual authorship of the hymn is, at the moment, unknown.

ii. The notable thing about the "Dies Irae" is that it contains no reference to the dead until the last six lines, and these are lacking in the Neapolitan text which ends "Gere curam mei finis". Of these six lines "Huic ergo parce Deus" belonged originally to the previous stanza beginning "Lacrimosa dies illa", the four lines being a compendium of the whole of the preceding verses: they were added, it appears, in the first half of the thirteenth century, when the sequence became attached to the liturgy of the dead, and their adventitious character is apparent even from the chant. The last two lines, even more strikingly diverse from what precedes, were added later.

iii. As part of the liturgy for the dead the hymn was first attached to the absolution *Libera me*, which contains the same

¹ Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, I, p. 541; Crogaert, *Les Rites . . . de la Messe*, I, p. 537; *Q.L.P.*, 1931, p. 260, where the Neapolitan text is printed.

² S.A. in *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 1950, p. 131, where numerous other variations of the Missal text are printed.

ideas as the hymn, and the chant itself of the words "Dies illa, dies irae" in *Libera me* is practically the same as the opening notes of the hymn. The *Libera me* is thought to date from the end of the tenth century,¹ perhaps earlier.² The hymn became inserted in the Requiem Mass in many missals, and was finally adopted definitely in the missal of Pius V.

iv. We are accustomed to explain these exequial texts which are prayers for a favourable issue at the judgement, as being a dramatic representation, in which words are put on the lips of a person already dead and judged, as though this had not yet happened. This may well be the historical truth accounting for the sentiments finding a place in the liturgy of the dead. Another explanation is the one suggested by "R" in his question, that the "Dies Irae" and presumably the *Libera me* also were originally designed for Advent, a period not only of preparing for the commemoration of Christ's first coming, but of getting ready for His second coming at the day of judgement, and both ideas enter into the collect of the Christmas vigil. Popular modern liturgists often state that the hymn was a sequence for the 1st Sunday of Advent, before being transferred to the liturgy of the dead.³ This is likely to be the truth, but we have not succeeded in discovering any substantiation of it: what is wanted is a reference to some contemporary text which explicitly supports this assignation. The references to the last judgement in our present breviary Advent hymns need only a mention; they are in Vespers and Lauds.

Te deprecamur ultimae
Magnum diei Iudicem,
Armis supernae gratiae
Defende nos ab hostibus.

Ut, cum secundo fulserit,
Metuque mundum cinxerit,
Non pro reatu puniat,
Sed nos pius tunc protegat.

¹ *L'Ami du Clergé*, 1909, p. 567, summarizes a writer whose conclusions were later substantiated by the Neapolitan text.

² Cf. *Liturgy*, January 1946, for an excellent study by Mary Ryan of the text and variations of *Libera me*.

³ *Dictionnaire Pratique de Liturgie Romaine* (1952), p. 342; Schuster, *Liber Sacramentorum*, II, French edition, p. 134.

AUTHENTIC TEXT OF PIUS X ON CHURCH MUSIC

The words of Pius X to the effect that "*active* participation in the Holy Mysteries and in the public prayer of the Church is the primary and *indispensable* source of a true Christian spirit" are more quoted by popular writers than almost any others from an official source. The italicized words are, however, lacking in the official Latin version. Which text is authentic? (S. T.)

REPLY

Pius X, *Motu Proprio*, 22 November, 1903

Italian (*A.S.S.*, XXXVI, p. 331)

Latin (*ib.* p. 388)

... per attingere tale spirito dalla sua prima ed indispensabile fonte, che è partecipazione attiva ai sacrosanti misteri. . . .

... ut hoc virtutis spiritu ex priorie fonte fruuntur, quae est participatio divinorum mysteriorum. . . .

Latin (*Decreta Authentica S.R.C.* (1912),
n. 4121)

... ad eundem spiritum ex primo eoque necessario fonte hauriendum, hoc est ex actuosa cum sacrosanctis Mysteriis . . . communicatione.

The document appeared first in Italian, presumably as written or passed by the Pope. Later, in the same volume of the *Acta* a Latin version was printed and it was described as "*versio fidelis*". Nine years later a new Latin version was given amongst the Authentic Decrees of the Congregation of Rites and the same text appeared in the post-Code official collection, *Fontes*, n. 654, in Volume III, published 1925. The English version to which we are accustomed, printed in the Leeds Synods, 1911, p. 192, corresponds with the original Italian: "... of acquiring this spirit from its foremost and indispensable fount, which is the active participation in the most holy mysteries . . .".

Owing to its inclusion in *Decreta Authentica* and *Fontes*, there can be no possible doubt that the Latin version given in these two sources is the only faithful version of the original Italian; the Latin version which appeared in the same volume of the *Acta* is imperfect; the authentic text is the Italian in which the document first appeared amongst the official acts of the Holy See. We have not seen any explanation or withdrawal of the faulty Latin version which, because it is in Latin and contemporary with the Italian, occasionally deceives even the most wary and experienced liturgists.¹

E. J. M.

ROMAN DOCUMENTS

ROBES OF CARDINALS AND OTHER PRELATES

(1) MOTU PROPRIO
(*A.A.S.*, 1952, XLIV, p. 849)

PIUS PP. XII

Valde solliciti ob peculiare nostrorum temporum condiciones, quas laboriosa experimenta ac periclitaciones graviore cotidie difficilioresque reddunt, quasque summa consideratione summaque cura dignas ea vota efficiunt, ad quae assequenda multi hodie nobili quadam anxietudine contendunt, semper Nos opportunum Nostraeque conscientiae officio consentaneum duximus illis respondere monitis, quae inde oriuntur: ut omnes nempe, peculiari modo e sacro ordine viri, ad vivendi rationem magis sobriam, moderatam atque austeram compellantur.

Hac de causa, ad Nos etiam quod pertinet, exemplum hisce in rebus praebere placuit: placuit videlicet exteriores ritus aliquantum temperare, qui ad explendum pertinent Apostolici officii Nostri munus, hoc est sacras caerimonias ad simpliciore breviorique

¹ Cf. Dom B. Capelle in *Questions Liturgiques and Paroissiales*, 1951, p. 146; 1952, p. 161.

formam redigere; atque imprimis idcirco laetitia afficimur, quod cernimus omnes cordatos homines, cum in singulorum agendi consuetudine, tum in publicae vitae actionibus, ad clerum etiam quod attinet, magis quam fastum, impensam admirari sollicitudinem erga humanae consortionis necessitates.

Nobis igitur in animo est nonnullas edere normas ad Patrum Cardinalium vestes quod pertinet, qui quidem, et sunt Nobis carissimi, et Nobis tantopere adsunt in universa gubernanda Ecclesia. Novimus siquidem eos non ad admirantium curiositatem spectare, sed ad praeclaram suam ipsorum dignitatem et auctoritatem in sua luce ponendam; ac pari modo Nobis perspectum est non tantum eos ab inani luxu abhorrere, sed ea potius, quae ecclesiasticum patrimonium, christifidelium pietas atque interdum quoque familiares opes eis attribuerunt, in beneficentiae incepta liberaliter impendere, cum sibi plane persuasum habeant, Evangelicae sapientiae praeceptis illud respondere, ut qui supersunt proventus, ii etiam qui a moderatiore vivendi vestiendique usu oriuntur, in divini cultus, in caritatis, in iuventutis educationis et in apostolatus operibus collocent.

Quapropter, dum eos debito honestamus praeconio, putamus Nos eorum laudabilia consilia christianaque proposita faciliora efficere per has, quas Motu Proprio statuimus, normas, ad Patrum Cardinalium habitum pertinentes:

I—De Patrum Cardinalium talari veste, sive rubri sive violacei coloris syrma seu cauda demenda est.

II—Eorum cappae syrma seu cauda, quae neque in Summi Pontificis Cappellis, neque in Sacris Consistoriis evolvenda erit, ad dimidiam est circiter partem redigenda, eius magnitudine perspecta, quae hodie in usu est.

III—Eorum vestimenta violacei coloris (talaris vestis, mantelleta, mozeta) lanea sunt; attamen Patres Cardinales, qui serica huiusmodi vestimenta violacei coloris iam antea habuerint, iisdem indui statim temporibus pergere poterunt.

IV—Caerimoniarum normae in Romana Curia redintegrentur, ad habitum pertinentes eorum Patrum Cardinalium, qui vel ex Canonici Regularibus, vel ex Clericis Regularibus, vel ex Religiosis Congregationibus in Sacrum Collegium cooptantur.

V—Quas decrevimus normas, eadem a Calendis Ianuarii proximi anni MCMLIII vigere incipiant.

Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum, die xxx mensis Novembris, sacri Adventus Dominica prima, anno MCMLII, Pontificatus Nostri quarto decimo.

PIUS PP. XII

(2) SACRA CONGREGATIO RITUUM

(A.A.S., 1952, XLIV, p. 888)

Edito Motu Proprio "Valde solliciti" diei 30 mensis novembris 1952, super vestibus Eñorum S. R. E. Cardinalium, Sacrae Rituum Congregationi pro opportuna solutione ac declaratione sequentia dubia proposita sunt:

(1) An praefatae "Motu Proprio" dispositiones circa vestem talarem et cappam Eñorum Cardinalium extendi debeant vestibus et cappis Patriarcharum Archiepiscoporum et Episcoporum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, necnon Abbatum sive saecularium sive regularium talibus fruendum privilegiis?

(2) An vestis quoque talaris Protonotariorum, Praelatorum et aliorum, qui privilegiis Praelatorum propriis fruuntur, sine syrmate seu cauda esse debeat?

Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio sedulo perpendens easdem rationes, quae in Motu Proprio commemorantur, etiam pro Episcopis aliisque valere, propositis dubiis, de mandato Ssmi, respondendum censuit: "Affirmative ad utrumque".

Atque ita rescripsit, declaravit et ab omnibus servari mandavit, contrariis quibuslibet, etiam speciali mentione dignis, non obstantibus.

Datum Romae, e Secretaria S. Rituum Congregationis, die 4 mensis Decembris 1952.

✠ C. Card. MICARA, Ep. Velitern., *Pro-Praefectus*

EPISCOPAL SANDALS

SACRA CONGREGATIO RITUUM

DECRETUM

(A.A.S., 1952, XLIV, p. 849)

Iuxta Caeremoniale Episcoporum (L. II, c. VIII, n. 2) et antiquam ecclesiasticam disciplinam in omnibus Ecclesiis Cathedralibus aula quaedam, secretarium appellata et ab Ecclesia separata, exstare debet, ubi Episcopus, Missam sollemniter celebraturus, sacra indumenta accipiat. Si vero alicubi tale secretarium desit, usu factum est ut Episcopus aliquod sacellum in ipsa Ecclesia seligeret. Iam vero cum minus congruum videatur sandalia et caligas in ipsa

Ecclesia assumere, Sacra Rituum Congregatio statuendum censuit ut: quando, iuxta rubricas, Episcopus sandalia et caligas in sacris caeremoniis assumere debet, ea nunquam in Ecclesia, nec in throno vel faldistorio induat, sed vel in secretario ab Ecclesia distincto, aut domi: reformatis hoc sensu rubricis et decretis usque adhuc vigentibus. Quod Decretum Ssmus D. N. Pius div. Prov. Pp. XII edi iussit, contrariis non obstantibus quibuslibet.

Datum Romae, e Secretaria S. Rituum Congregationis, die 4 mensis Decembris 1952.

✠ C. Card. MICARA, Ep. Velitern., *Pro-Praefectus*

BOOK REVIEWS

The Missionary Factor in East Africa. By Roland Oliver. Pp. xviii + 302. (Longmans. Paper covers, 12s. 6d.; cased, 17s. 6d.)

THIS is not a book for the casual reader who has retained a school-boyish enthusiasm for G. Henty's tales of adventure in unexplored lands; it is the work of a scholar who is writing a detailed history of a country just one hundred years old. The history necessarily involves the work of missionaries. Here, the author has been at pains to collect, from every department, evidence both of achievement and failure, evidence which he uses impartially as he unfolds his story.

We see the missionaries making the first advances from the coast into the interior in the direction of the great lakes. Apart from the Arab traders based on the coast at Mombasa and Zanzibar, the missionaries were the pioneers in the work of bringing the outside world to the Africans; it was chiefly among slaves who had run away from their Arab owners, or who had been bought direct by the missionaries themselves, that the earliest work was done. Next, we see difficulties arising between the British consulate at Zanzibar and the missionaries. The consul visualized the utilization of Arab influence in the interior for opening up the country, and so supported the Arabs; the missionaries saw in the Arabs the source of many of the evils they had come to destroy, and so opposed them. Later on, the Arabs, conscious of missionary opposition, expanded their interests; where they had been merely traders in slaves and ivory, they now became a political party bent on driving the European

from East Africa; the massacre at Namungongo in May 1886 can be traced to their influence over the young King Mwanga in Uganda. Open war was the final outcome; and the outcome of the war was the declaration by Britain of a protectorate over Uganda.

What the author calls the zenith of the missions is described in the long fourth chapter, wherein is told the story of how Africans were enlisted by the missionaries for the Christian conquest of Africa. In this chapter, we get a very different view of the country from the one we saw in the pioneer days. Then, Christianity was so much a matter of slave settlements, which, of their nature, made the work of evangelization almost a static thing; now, it has become dynamic, with African catechists imparting the gospel to fellow Africans under the direction of a missionary who would come in at the end to put the finishing touches to the work. The book ends with the story of collaboration over education between government and missions to save Africa for the Africans at a time when there was danger of the natives' becoming merely a depressed labour squad in the service of settlers who considered only their own interests.

It is a good story, even if the wealth of detail makes it hard reading for the man who has not the author's intimate knowledge of the country. Items of information occur that illuminate, like a lightning flash, the dark, weary toil that went to the building of East Africa; the North Nyanza Vicariate opened its junior seminary in 1893, and had to wait till 1914 before its first two priests were ordained out of four hundred candidates; a steamer was carried, in sections, along two hundred miles of eighteen-inch track to Lake Nyasa. And, on page 242, the author pays a handsome tribute to Catholic missionaries. He is to be congratulated on a valuable piece of work.

S. M. S.

The Development of English Theology in the Later Nineteenth Century. By L. E. Elliott-Binns. Pp. ix + 137. (Longmans. 8s. 6d.)

THE preface to this book tells us that the author's aim was to continue, though on a less massive scale, the volume of Canon Storr on English theology in the nineteenth century, which brought the history to the year 1860. He undertook this task for the Burroughs Memorial Lectures for 1950 at Leeds University, and it is his six lectures that are printed here. The first deals with the position in 1860, the last with the position at the close of the century; the four middle lectures treat in turn of the impact of science and philosophy,

the influence of historical studies, the developments in biblical theology and those in dogmatic theology. The whole forms a very readable and accurate survey of the period. It is not detailed enough to become a valuable book of reference, nor has it the profundity of an original assessment, but as a useful summary it deserves notice.

The author, quite naturally, is led to comment on the changes he records. A non-Catholic writing on non-Catholic theology, he is handicapped in judging the gains and losses in a troubled period by the lack of a considered theology of development. Theology, he sees, must not lightly discard what is traditional, nor must syntheses with fresh knowledge be premature. At the same time, it is important that contact with contemporary thought should be secured and maintained. No criterion, however, emerges by which one can decide whether an essential point has been jettisoned or a true development obtained. It is not surprising that, in a welter of opinions, "intellectual uncertainty has led many to seek a refuge in crude dogmatisms of various hues".

Arnobius of Sicca: The Case against the Pagans. Newly translated and annotated by George E. McCracken, Ph.D., F.A.A.R. Vol. II. Pp. 286. (Longmans. 25s.)

THIS odd volume has been sent by the publishers to herald the publication by them in England of the well-known American series of patristic translations, entitled *Ancient Christian Writers*. The first twelve volumes have been published simultaneously, and others will follow as they are available. The price given above is the same for each of the present volumes, but a reduction of five shillings per volume is allowed to those who subscribe to the whole series. Since the printing remains American, the English edition retains the previous format.

It is unnecessary to add anything to the praise that has been deservedly showered on this series, not merely in the United States, but also here and on the Continent. The contents of each volume—a modern translation, an introduction, and copious notes—ensure that the various works included are made accessible to many readers outside the ranks of scholars. Many of the volumes were separately reviewed in these pages when they appeared in the American edition; it was shown that the editors of the individual works had done their difficult task well. The value of the undertaking is undisputed, and the two editors of the series, Drs Quasten and Plumpe, and the publishers are to be congratulated on their initiative and its success.

These first volumes contain works by Clement of Rome, Ignatius

of Antioch, Augustine, Julianus Pomerius, Polycarp, Arnobius, Athanasius, and Gregory the Great. The writings chosen should have a wide appeal. In this respect, however, the two volumes of Arnobius, though wanting nothing in scholarship, are somewhat uncharacteristic of the series, because his work lacks attraction for the general reader. Beyond this, it is perhaps not wise to comment in the absence of the first volume.

The Retreat from Christianity in the Modern World. By J. V. Langmead Casserley. Pp. x + 178. (Longmans. 12s. 6d.)

WHEN Dr Langmead Casserley came to give the Maurice Commemoration Lectures for 1951, he found that he had prepared too much material to fit easily into the framework of the three lectures required. This, he fears, marred their delivery, yet the interest aroused encouraged him to expand them into the more comfortable compass of this volume. The title may deter readers. Depressed by the pressure of the events themselves, some will wearily turn aside from another description of them. We have become hardened to crisis literature. In this instance, such a reaction would be regrettable; for one would miss a very attractive and interesting exposition, written with a fluent ease of style, full of apt comment, and rich in vigorous and penetrating analyses. The author realizes the serious importance of his theme, but the most captious critic could not find him dull.

He opens his treatment by distinguishing two avenues of retreat from Christianity, the first into irreligion and the second into some form or another of false religion. The last two and a half centuries, the period covered by the book, have been chiefly marked by the irreligious and negative rejection of Christianity; but we are passing into a new era and are faced with the rise of disturbing forms of false religions, come to fill the vacuum left by irreligion. It is the deliberately irreligious thought that is first discussed; its four fundamental types are rationalism, the "scientific outlook", atheist humanism, and attacks based on sociology or psychology. The survey is necessarily rapid, but the comments are admirably to the point. In approaching the question of the retreat into other religions, a division imposes itself. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the intellectual invention of new religions: the natural-religion movements and the passage through the study of comparative religion to a preference for the Eastern religions. Such vagaries were for the few, but the twentieth century has seen the emergence of barely rationalized or perhaps frankly irrational cults, the mass political cults "with their mythologies, their saviour leaders, their

doctrinal orthodoxies and their earth-bound eschatologies". These are the danger today. "It is in non-Christian or sub-Christian religion rather than mere irreligion that contemporary Christendom must learn to recognize its mortal foe." After this exposition of the situation, the author then goes on to deal with various factors and causes. A chapter entitled "The ineptitude of modern theology" remarks on what the author considers to have been the ineffectiveness and irrelevance of much Christian theology and apologetics during the period. His strictures are not without some justice, though it must be remembered that his field of observation is very wide and his terms of reference somewhat narrow. He finds a revival today, especially noticeable among Catholics. A consideration of the influence of "the sufferings of this present time" helps to clarify the reader's judgement. These have radically changed the mental climate. "The shibboleths and complacent optimism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have become impossible for all but the intellectual ostriches—secularists, positivists, the so-called 'scientific humanists' and the like." This should lead to a more objective appraisal of the underlying causes of the present mass recession from Christianity. These are sociological and psychological rather than intellectual. It is "a great social rather than a great intellectual change, a social change accompanied, like all sociological phenomena, by important psychological consequences". Two chapters treat of the sociology and the psychology of the retreat respectively. A final chapter asks frankly whether the movement from Christianity should be judged a retreat or an advance. The emphatic verdict is that there has been "no advance beyond Christianity in any field whatsoever".

On many points, a Catholic would express himself differently from the author, and there is room too for an occasional difference of assessment; but none of this should prevent the recognition of the essential sanity and soundness of this book.

C. D.

Primitive Man and his World Picture. By Wilhelm Koppers. Translated by Edith Raybould. Pp. viii + 264. (Sheed and Ward. 16s. net.)

MUCH of this book was contained "in germ" in the author's *Urmensch und Urreligion* (ed. 2, 1946), but pains have been taken to bring Dr Raybould's translation quite up to date (Vienna; 1951). This is, then, practically a new book. The author (with others) insists that the problem of man's origin "must be re-examined from the historico-philosophic approach and in the light of general research" (p.v.). He considers that "even in text-books for schools man is

represented as descending body and soul from the ape and . . . this view is put forward as a scientifically ascertained fact". He holds that even unconsciously specialists have *assumed* this, and then have elaborated theories to account for such an evolution having taken place. But, he holds, the study of "man" ought to be made from every angle: he is himself an ethnologist and has lived among various primitive or near-primitive peoples (the Bhils, the Yamana, the Pygmies etc.) and thus has gained an insight into their modes of thought—an insight which (we seem to remember) M. Malinowski held could be *very quickly* obtained, an idea which horrified us, since we know how rash it is for anyone to think he can properly understand a contemporary; how unlikely an Englishman is to "understand" a Spaniard, let alone a Russian. And he has associated with experts in every other field besides ethnology as such. It is clearly impossible to review so closely packed a book as this by means of detailed criticism, for which few indeed are competent: it is better to summarize its topics, so that the author's method, at any rate, may be apparent.

He recalls the services rendered by "pioneers" in anthropology, and the revolution in favour of "history" and observation of actual fact. For, having assumed that man had developed from mere animals, anthropologists were almost bound to disregard what conflicted with this theory, or their own particular theory, and to assume, further, that man's mental activities developed from something actually "pre-logical". Where "culture" was hardly an embryo, social life, and of course religion, can hardly have existed. Yet, discussing man's "descent", the author asks why, as a matter of fact, all races seem to consider themselves as having degenerated: their Golden Age is behind them: God has withdrawn Himself from men because of man's disobedience. Dr Koppers refuses to think that this general belief is *drawn from* the Bible. He would rather suppose that the account in *Genesis* is a *version* (Catholics will grant, an inspired one) of this belief. He asks, in short, *why* everyone should have thought the opposite of what we have been told they should? Again, no one, maybe, now upholds the doctrine of primitive promiscuity: but primitive sex-ethics went much further than condemning adultery or incest: and again the "why" of what history shows us has to be answered by the evolutionary theorist. *Why* did exogamy exist from the outset? In Chapter V he deduces primitive man's "mental equipment", pausing only to protest against one sentence in Professor Kraft's *Der Urmensch als Schöpfer*, i.e. that Father Schmidt and his colleagues studied the Pygmies "*in the hopes of*" finding remnants of man's primitive innocence. No: they went simply to

find and to record what they found: inferences followed: it was not hopes that preceded. From this point it is easy for the author to pass to primitive mankind's religious concepts. One of his expeditions (1922) took him to Tierra del Fuego; another, among the Bhils in N.W. Central India (1938). Probably the theory of an aboriginal "atheism", followed by pan-animism or what you will, is now abandoned. Impossible to discover a race with *no* "religion", and often purer ideas about the "Great God" are found among less developed races. Impossible to suppose that the higher peoples gave what they had not got, to the lower, who already possessed it! Along with the famous Father Schmidt, S.V.D., he finds it far simpler to suppose that a "primitive monotheism" with its consequences of prayer and "first offerings" preceded the diffusion of the peoples. Chapters VII and VIII concentrate on this. Two appendices consider the origin of the human body, as the biologists would argue, and as skeletal remains might suggest. We have, then, but indicated topics worked out by Dr Koppers with incomparable richness and also clarity.

C. C. M.

The Catholic Church: The Mystical Body of Christ. Translated from the Spanish of Luis Colomer, O.F.M., by Palmer L. Rockey, M.A. Ps. 376. (St Anthony's Guild Press, Paterson, New Jersey. \$3.50.)

It is not until a man begins to analyse carefully the meaning of the glibly used phrase "The Mystical Body of Christ" that he has any realization of the vastness of his subject. When he examines the different facets, even the mind of one who is trained theologically must be overwhelmed at the richness of the doctrine. It is this very wealth which is a danger. To the less studious, to the less prayerful, to the ordinary harried priest in a parish, it may become well nigh impossible to delve into deep mysteries without some mental weariness approaching apathy. How much more difficult it must be, then, for the equally busy but less trained layman to absorb the more profound significances of St Paul's words: "You are the Body of Christ." Nevertheless, in this inhuman modern world of ours, unless we understand, we cannot get this message of hope across the sea of materialism to the sinking mass of humanity who individually clamour "Save us, we perish".

We can therefore greatly welcome this translation from the Spanish which reads like an original English work. The chief merit to my mind is that a scholar would not hesitate to read it in order to increase his knowledge from the store it contains; at the same

time, it could be recommended to any lay person of average reading capacity. Father Colomer and his translator, though dealing with the full mystery of Divine action living in the Church, manage to present theology in an uncomplicated way. There is even a certain lightness, and a persuasive zest which encourages continued lingering over another page.

The first section treats of the organism of the Church. The author puts great weight upon the vital importance of the hierarchy of the priesthood, with its dual character of orders and jurisdiction: "It brings to the whole Church, even the most obscure and hidden of its members, the light of Catholic Doctrine, the life of grace, and the government which directs and sustains them all along the arduous path leading to heaven. . . . Light, life, animation and order proceed from the hierarchy and spread through the Church." As most Catholics live in a parochial setting we tend to forget that "the bishop because of his rank, is for the particular church what Christ is for the universal Church; the head, pastor and spouse", and that "the faithful are the fruit of the bishop's priesthood" because "Priesthood, sacrifice, sacraments, instruction, government—all proceed from the bishop and descend, through the episcopal clergy, to souls under the bishop's care".

This consideration leads Father Colomer on to discuss the vital activity of the Church. Here he points out the supremacy of the Church's prayer, public and social, over private prayer, because in it "there is never an inversion or confusion of values. In her prayer adoration and praise always predominate, universal gratitude re-echoes in her canticles"—a true valuation which Pius XII has been at pains to stress in *Mediator Dei*, a necessary centring on the Liturgy which every priest must encourage in his flock. How few deeply take part in the Mass; how few have any understanding!

And so the author leads us on in his final section to discuss the pre-eminent cause of the Church's growth—the Holy Spirit. We would do well to concentrate more upon the third person of the Blessed Trinity, especially in our efforts to give others spiritual food. From Baptism we begin to grow in the Mystical Body by the power of the Holy Spirit "who gives life, activity, and order to each and every one of Christ's members, is the one who directs these movements towards their final result, which is the progressive growth of the Church's being, in truth and in love, until she reaches the glorious perfection she will eternally enjoy in heaven". The reading of this admirable book should also encourage this growth among a wide range of people, and for that purpose may it be much read.

M. H.

Latinarum Litterarum Historia. A. D'Elia, S.J. Pp. xii + 306. (D'Auria, Naples, 1952. L.800 (gs. 5d.) unbound.)

THIS book attempts to give, in Latin, a short history of Latin literature from its earliest beginnings until the sixth century A.D., when the author considers true Latin to have become extinct. The history is divided into the usual five periods, and in each a short account of the corresponding poets and prose writers is given, together with a summary of their more important works. About 250 writers are thus examined and occasionally quoted. A chapter on the Latin people and language introduces this study, and one on the Christian writers of the first six centuries concludes it.

In a foreword the author bewails the ever-increasing ignorance of Latin (apparently as prevalent in his own country as in England), and hopes by this work to help towards the revival of some interest in that language. His aims are admirable, but it is not immediately clear how they are to be achieved, since those who will be able to read what he has to say will hardly be in need of his encouragement. Some simplification of his style and vocabulary might encourage his readers to share more of his own enthusiasm, and they could approach his quotations of the more obscure Latin verse with considerably greater confidence if there were fewer misprints elsewhere.

The Epistles of St Paul. Very Rev. C. J. Callan, O.P. Pp. lii + 488. (Wagner, New York, and Herder, London. 1951. 63s.)

THE author has planned his book on the lines of most commentaries on St Paul. It opens with a general introduction on the Apostle's life and writings, and then proceeds to explain verse by verse the epistles in the order in which they stand in the Bible, each being preceded by a particular introduction to give its background and contents. The Douay text, being the most readily available to all readers, is used as a basis and printed at the head of each page, although constant reference is made to the Greek, especially where the Douay has missed the mark. The book is completed by an index and a map of St Paul's journeys, the latter rather more indecipherable than most maps of these journeys.

The main fault with verse-by-verse commentaries is that each exegetical problem tends to be considered in a vacuum, and solved without reference to St Paul's thought as a whole. The result is that instead of being helped towards an appreciation of a theology as breath-taking as St Paul's is, the reader is left only with the impression of an endless number of individual verses on which X thinks this and Y thinks that. In this respect the author sins as heavily as

his fellow commentators, and with less excuse, for a one-man commentary has even greater need of such a synthesis and less difficulty in making it. True, the general introduction has a section on the "Doctrine of the Epistles", but this covers less than two pages and can hardly be meant as a serious attempt to co-ordinate the theology of St Paul. In the long run the "more ready understanding of the great Apostle and of the vast riches of his heavenly teaching", which the author promises on the jacket of the book, is left very much in the air.

Worse still, on all points where recent studies have dug deep to make those "vast riches" more readily available and better appreciated, the author has remained so resolutely on the surface, one might almost say on the superficial, that one wonders if he even knows of these studies. This is more the case when one finds that his bibliographies generally finish at 1922, with an occasional daring leap to the Abingdon Bible Commentary of 1929. Examples could be multiplied; in a review such as this one must suffice. It is disappointing to be told that St Paul's refusal to use "wisdom of speech" in 1 Cor. i, 17 refers merely to elegance of expression and powers of rhetoric (which, of course, "later preachers are not forbidden to make use of . . . because, not having the inspiration and marvelous powers of St Paul, they need those human aids"), when in point of fact, as study on the Gnosticism of the first century has made abundantly clear, St Paul is concerned with something far more sinister, the philosophical systems which revel in their own self-sufficiency and the kind of intellectualism which reduces God to its own size. On points like these it is still worth while having St Paul's advice.

The book has appeared previously (there is no mention when) as two separate volumes. Its reprinting in one volume (the pagination has been left unaltered) was intended to offset the rapidly mounting costs of publication. Its price suggests that in this the publishers have not been entirely successful.

H. J. RICHARDS

Roosevelt and the New Deal. By D. W. Brogan. Pp. x + 259. (Oxford University Press. 16s.)

THIS book was originally published in the U.S.A. as one of a series called "The Chronicles of America", and was then entitled *The Era of Franklin D. Roosevelt*. Professor Brogan has preferred to change the title for the English edition so as not to mislead the reader. One feels that this was a mistake because the work is in reality a straight history of the development of the New Deal, preceded by a short introductory chapter on the disastrous course of events in the last two

years of Hoover's presidency. The early years of Roosevelt's first term began the era of the alphabetical agencies, of NRA, AAA, PWA, WPA and so on, and this book traces the development of the administration's intervention, first in matters of relief, and then further in the spheres of industrial relations and through the whole process of priming the economic pump. The battle over the Supreme Court, "the nine old men", is well and succinctly described and set in its context of a constitutional crisis threatening the whole structure of the New Deal. The crisis ended in a truce, and it is dubious whether there could have been any other outcome, given the position of the three co-ordinate powers.

The value of this book—despite some rather dull writing such as one had not expected from Professor Brogan—is that it does cover the greater part of an era, an era that ended in January 1953. While Mr. Truman's terms of office are not to be underestimated, his Fair Deal was in many ways the New Deal continued in post-war conditions. The great changes which were wrought in American capitalism were begun by Roosevelt under the impact of the slump, and were continued by him through the upheavals of the Second World War.

The Moral Obligation of Voting. By Rev. Titus Cranny, S.A., S.T.L.
Pp. xxvii + 155. (Catholic University of America Press. N. p.)

IN this thesis for a doctorate of theology Father Cranny deals exhaustively with a comparatively modern problem, that of the citizen's obligation to vote. One must go back to the Greeks to find the same preoccupation with universal suffrage, and that this preoccupation is very recent is shown by the number of theologians quoted by the author who do not discuss the obligation in any great detail. The source of the obligation would seem to be legal or general justice, but in that analogical form which is called nowadays social justice. Actually it would be better called social collaboration. Obviously in a thesis of this nature it is inevitable that the author should review the authors and put himself in the main stream of development of theological thought. However, it should be noted that this obligation is one pertaining to natural morality. As the author himself expresses it: "The fundamental basis of the moral obligation of voting is twofold: (i) The State is a necessary society demanded by man's nature and his needs; (ii) Every citizen is bound to promote the common good." There can be little room for originality in developing these two points. But when he includes a section on the Christian concept of civic duty one looks for something more than quotations from the early Fathers and recent Pontiffs.

There is a great deal of work to be done in this field of the social aspects of Christian morality, and they are not all to be derived from Matthew xxii, 21.

The Church and the Artisan Today. By Roger Lloyd. Pp. viii + 101. (Longmans, Green & Co. 4s. 6d.)

CANON LLOYD is writing about the urban industrial worker, the weekly wage-earner or the urban industrial proletariat which is the product of our great cities and which, although it has found a certain community, is basically rootless. He analyses its history and psychology with great sympathy and understanding, although perhaps he tends to overestimate the number who do merely mechanical jobs. While it is true that the philosophy of the assembly line tends to pervade the whole of industry, the practice does not—not yet.

The problem which he faces is that the Church of England has very little to say to the urban industrial proletariat, and it in its turn is profoundly indifferent to the Church. While he is interested in how the Catholic Church in France is facing the problem, he feels that the formula of the priest-workman is not for England. This problem of the relevance of the teaching of Christ to the worker in our industrial cities is one which must disturb all Christians, and we should be grateful to Canon Lloyd for his statement of it as well as for some of the intuitions that he puts at the disposal of those who are seeking a solution.

Science is a Sacred Cow. By Anthony Standen. Pp. 158. (Sheed & Ward. 10s. 6d.)

MR STANDEN is a scientist, more exactly a chemist and an entomologist, but in this work he is filling the role of a philosopher as described recently by Gabriel Marcel: putting men of science and action on their guard against the *hubris* of imagining themselves to be human demiurges. But his work may be of more value to the non-scientist, in debunking a great deal of the pompous myth with which some scientists have surrounded themselves. In other words, his bludgeon-like strokes will please the onlooker by their sheer devastation more than would a surgical or rapier-like approach. Scientists will be annoyed rather than convinced by this treatment.

Apart from an astringent analysis of the pretensions of those who speak in the name of the more recent sciences, like psychology and sociology, the author shows up the true value of the scientific method. He is quick to detect the transfer of method from one science to another, and to show how in many cases this is wholly unjustifiable. A number of cases are provided of the transition from hypo-

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thesis to theory to "most authorities agree that . . .". The many and real benefits that scientific research has bestowed on mankind are not minimized, but the author's point is that proficiency, or even eminence, in one branch of science confers no right to pontificate on everything under the sun. One would count this a commonplace were it not for the many examples of the pronouncements of these witch doctors of the twentieth century. Too often they are received with awe, whereas Mr Standen would have us receive them with laughter, for "they are all crowding round and bowing low before a Sacred Cow".

The Organized Social Apostolate of Albert de Mun. By Sister Miriam Lynch, M.Sc.Soc.Adm. (The Catholic University of America Press. \$2.50.)

ONE of the most important forerunners of Catholic social action in France was Count Albert de Mun, and the present-day organizations of specialized Catholic Action which make up the *Association de la Jeunesse Française* are the lineal descendants of the *Oeuvre des Cercles catholiques d'ouvriers* which he founded in 1871. This well-organized thesis for a doctorate of philosophy gives a more than adequate picture of the origin and development of the *Oeuvre* set against the background, political and religious, of the period. It is the more welcome because of the dearth of material in English dealing with the great precursors, Albert de Mun, Léon Harmel and René de la Tour du Pin.

De Valore Sociali Caritatis secundum principia S. Thomae Aquinatis. By A. P. Edwardo E. Bezzina, O.P. Pp. 219. (M. D'Auria. No price.)

A REGIME of justice is not sufficient by itself to bring social peace; along with social justice is needed the co-principle of social charity. Fr Bezzina begins with the different senses of love, *amor*, *dilectio*, *amicitia*, *caritas*, and then proceeds to discuss the function of the love of charity in society. It is shown how true social peace is caused by charity, only indirectly by justice. Then these principles are applied to different forms of society. The whole work is a profound discussion of an aspect of social reform to which the Popes have made frequent reference but which has not hitherto been given sufficient prominence by Catholic social writers. Its value lies not in its novelty, but in the schematic and exhaustive treatment of the subject. The more reason, then, why one regrets the lack of an index.

J. F.

The Heart of St Thérèse. By L'Abbé André Combes. Pp. x + 122. (Gill, Dublin. 12s. 6d.)

At the School of St Thérèse. Translated by Rev. M. Collins, S.M.A. Pp. xxvii + 90. (Gill, Dublin. 3s. 6d.)

MANY years have passed since L'Abbé Combes began his intensive study of the letters, poems and *Autobiography* of St Thérèse, the modern mystic who has drawn thousands of ardent souls to the heights of true spirituality by teaching them one lesson: the love of Jesus. In this new work—finely translated from the French by an unnamed Carmelite nun—we are clearly shown that as her life advanced the Little Flower concentrated all her attention upon the one only way of Christian Perfection, the way of love. Her sole interest was Jesus. She became increasingly familiar with His every recorded word until at length what He said and did was her only meditation. Her advance towards this goal began very early; by the time she was sixteen years of age she knew the *Imitation* by heart, so dear to her was that Holy Name which appears in profusion throughout its pages. Her "Little Way" is nothing more than the constant love of Jesus.

At the School of St Thérèse is in the form of a catechism, the "little soul" (which means anyone who will learn the "Little Way") asking the questions and the Saint answering them. She speaks in her own written words. In support of her doctrine numerous footnotes are appended, quotations from the Doctors and Theologians of the Church bearing testimony to the soundness of the Saint's theory and practice of holiness. In leading her pupils to the final, all-embracing lesson of love, she speaks of every virtue, particularly of simplicity and humility. There is no pretension, no striving after effect, with the result that the perfection of Charity emerges as the natural attainment of a life that is spent with the single purpose of loving God.

L. T. H.

GRAMOPHONE RECORDS OF CHURCH MUSIC

An Anthology of Church Music. From the fifteenth century to the present day. Third Series. (Columbia LB132,133; LX1563-1572.)

ISSUED under the auspices of The British Council and under the direction of the late Dr Fellowes, whose notes accompany the series, the anthology is meant to illustrate the attainments of English church musicians, and the pieces have been recorded in the cathedrals and

college chapels of the Church of England. To us the present collection is, perhaps, less attractive than its two predecessors, since no extracts from Masses are included this time. The Catholic tradition is nevertheless well represented in *Factum est Silentium* (LX1564), a six-part motet for Michaelmas by R. Dering, organist to the Catholic queen of Charles I. Tallis and Byrd naturally have a prominent place, the former in *Salvator Mundi* (LB133) from the "Cantiones Sacrae" of 1575, and in a *Te Deum* for five voices which is sung in English (LX1563); the latter in *Laudibus in Sanctis* (LB132), a paraphrase of psalm cl, which we think is the gem of this collection, beautifully sung and perfectly recorded in the chapel of New College, Oxford.

The series is largely didactic in purpose and therefore contains, as an illustration, we suppose, of development, pieces such as Wesley's *The Wilderness* (LX1568,9), composed of some verses from Isaiah xxxv, which is musically not very distinguished; we are also given Walmisley's *Magnificat* (LX1567) of which a good recent recording already exists (Col. DX1779). The remaining pieces by past composers are mostly under such well-known names as Blow, Farrant, Walford Davies and Stanford, the latter's *The Lord is my Shepherd* (LC1570) having an arresting beginning which is not quite sustained. Amongst the compositions of contemporary musicians Howell's "*Collegium Regale*" *Magnificat* (LX1572), appropriately rendered in King's College, Cambridge, and Vaughan Williams's *Come Holy Spirit* (LX1572) are excellent examples; the most striking is *Ah, see the fair chivalry come* (LX1571) by H. K. Andrews (b. 1904), which seems to preserve the traditional *a cappella* style of church music better than most. The majority of pieces in this collection are similarly unaccompanied, some are assisted by an organ, and one—Pelham Humfrey's *O give thanks* (LX1566)—by a string quartet as well.

More anthologies of the same kind are promised, though it will be difficult to replace Dr Fellowes, and we should naturally like to hear more of the pre-Reformation Catholic musicians, or more liturgical music written for the Mass. Presumably, as in the previous collections, it is considered essential to the scheme to entrust its execution to the choirs of the Established Church: they have done their work well, especially the boys, but there are other choirs which could do equally well.

CORRESPONDENCE

EVENING SERVICES

(THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1953, XXXVIII, p. 26)

Dr K. F. McMurtrie, Govt. Hospital, Empangeni, Zululand, S. Africa, writes:

Father Catterall's article *In noctibus extollite* interests me very greatly. I suggest that permission might be obtained to re-print the Psalms and Hymns from *A Short Breviary* for use at the kind of evening service envisaged in his article. The hymns in that book are, I think, in a specially "singable" form and they cover the whole Church Year. Well-known tunes could be used. The Psalms (a large selection) are perhaps not quite so happily translated as the hymns. *My Daily Psalm Book*, a new English translation from the new Latin Version and obtainable from Duckett, would form an alternative.

If psalms were re-printed from either of these works a Gregorian melody could be chosen for each psalm, and the syllable in each half verse on which the note changes could be italicized or otherwise indicated.

"THESE ARE YOUR SONS"

(THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1953, XXXVIII, p. 120)

The McGraw-Hill Book Company, London, point out that the above work is not published by them but by McGraw-Hill of New York.

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